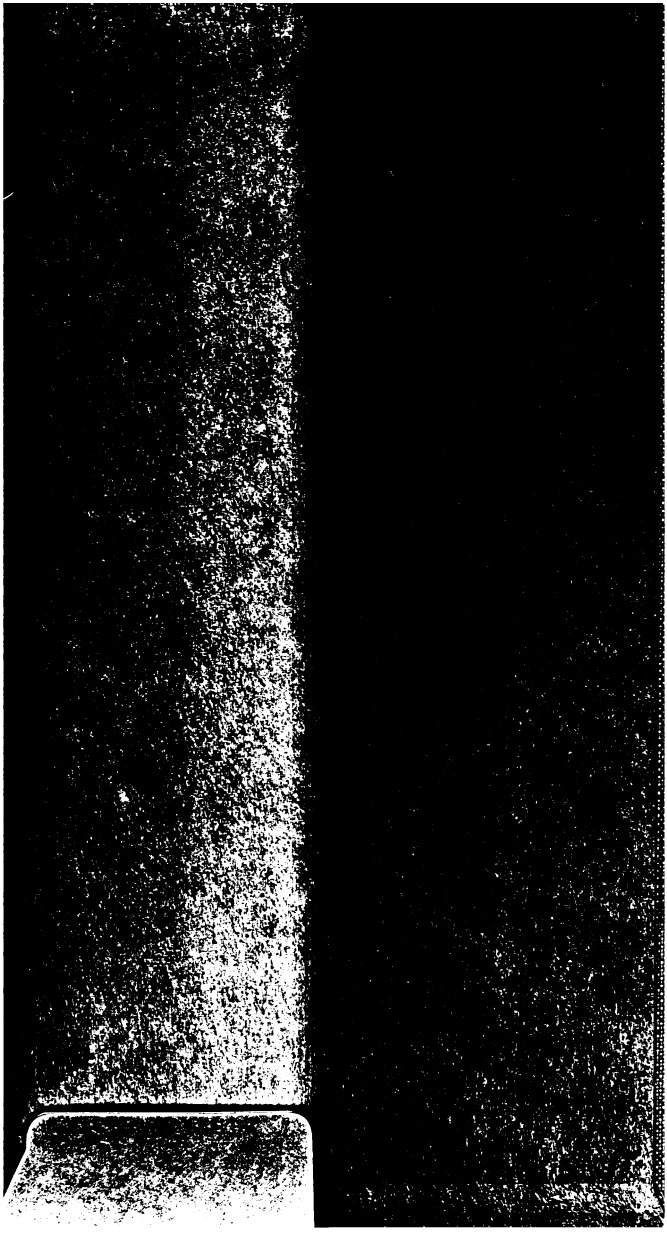

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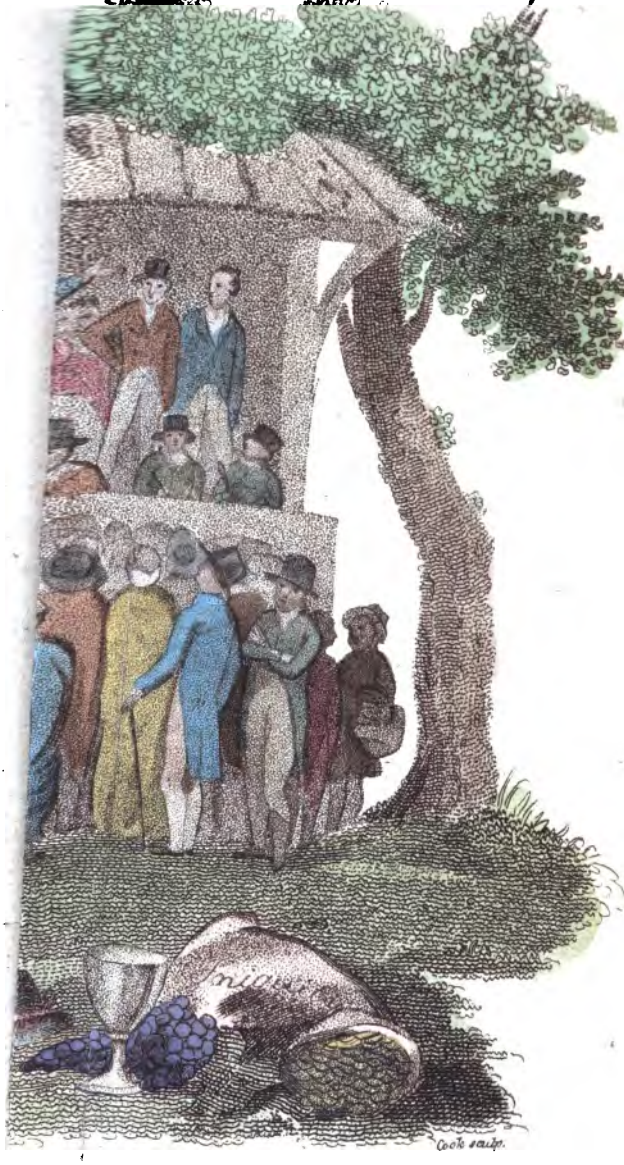
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POLITICS

OF THE

GEORGIUM SIDUS.

OR

ADVICE HOW TO BECOME

GREAT

SENATORS & STATESMEN,

Interspersed with Characteristic Sketches, and Hints on Various Subjects in

MODERN POLITICS.

BY A LATE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

THIRD EDITION.

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CHAPTER I.

Preliminary Education.

Nursling Senator.

He who is destined to rise in the Sidereal Parliament, ought to be put into a preparatory course of education from the very cradle.

A lively, prating nurse, one of those women who chatter for hours together, to a cat, a parrot, a pug-dog, or a child in their arms, without reflecting—whether the objects they address have the smallest intelligence of what they say,—will, upon this score, be of

infinite value, to have the charge of our M. P. in swaddling clothes. A little accustomed to such eloquence,—the infant comes to listen to it, with looks and feelings of grave satisfaction. It becomes necessary, to make him easy. He grows to be like the sailor who cannot take a nap on the shrouds, unless he be lulled by a loud wind. Or, he takes, at this early age, the happy habit of the scold's husband that never sinks so sweetly into repose, as under the quietus of a curtain-lecture. The native sensibility of his auditory nerves, is subdued to the torpor of one who, living, as it were, next door neighbour to the noise of a waterfall, learns to mind it no more than if he kept his couch, night and day, in a nook of Westminster-Hall, during the *silence* and solitude of the *Long Vacation*. Or, he becomes like the miller's servant, whose slumbers never fail to be broken, the moment the hollow rustling of the moving wheels is interrupted, and the din of the clapper ceases.

The importance of confiding the unfledged

legislator to such a nurse, is to be fully conceived only by those who have, like me, passed half a century in the CHAPEL OF PATRIOTISM and WISDOM.

But the gravity of look, far more valuable than attention itself, which counterfeits it to a very miracle, is never to be commanded, unless by early and unremitting habit. The patience to listen, night after night, to overpowering eloquence, is not to be created at once, nor acquired, if one have not been inured, from inarticulating infancy, to catch only the sounds, and leave the sense to be scattered by the winds. And it is of singular utility to the hero of political adventure, to have begun, from the earliest hour, to prepare for making as many as possible of the incidents of public debate to operate upon his mind with soporific influence. These qualities are, *in this planet*, the very elements of the better part of the true genius for legislative greatness.

Early Eloquence.

So tutored before he begins to speak, the

nurseling senator has a quite different species of instruction to receive, the moment he can make himself understood in articulate SPEECH. He must be, now, excited to emulate the chatter of his nurse with the utmost briskness and perseverance.

If to be a solemn, steady, unintelligent *hearer*, be the first object in that which is his destination in life; his very next object is, to be, himself, an eloquent *speaker*.

Now, I must acquaint you, ingenuously, with that which is the true secret of eloquence. It is not, as Demosthenes was weak enough to fancy, "Action! Action! Action!" it exists not in fire of sentiment: no, nor in vigour of imagery! it depends not upon any general predominance of good sense or propriety throughout the whole of what is said. It is not constituted by mere strength of facts or cogency of argument. It does not consist even in directing the whole scope of what is said to one single and leading point of persuasion. It is not in the grace, propriety, or energy, of correct and

mellow elocution; no! not in any one of these applauded excellencies; nor even in the union of the whole. Far from me be it, to vilify the art which I have nothing but the sincerest motives of public spirit to induce me to teach. But I must state that which I certainly know. In the whole course of my senatorial experience, I have watched anxiously to discover what it was that produced the proper effects of Eloquence in Parliamentary speaking. In the result, I have clearly ascertained, that bold promptitude, glib volubility, inexhaustible perseverance, periods of fifty miles, a generous negligence of excessive accuracy of definition, or clearness and regularity of argument, the fortitude to resist a general *hum*, lungs of strength to overpower the spread of a forced cough, spirit to make the most of a friendly "*Hear him!*" an affected, or, still better, a natural confusion of ideas, mincing and mangling popular facts and arguments, without absolutely omitting them, a turbid stream of speech overwhelming all purity of

phrase, correctness of grammar, or consistency of metaphor, the power to hold out for five hours at a breath, self-complacency to feel animated by the sound of one's own voice as a perpetual cheerer, and just common sense enough not to think of *cutting blocks with a razor*, are the ONLY GENUINE CONSTITUENTS OF EFFECTIVE ELOQUENCE. It matters not, though these differ from what the Rhetoricians and the University-men describe, as the elements of eloquence: Indeed, I know not that the University-men ever taught a lesson, on a single subject, that was good for any thing, in express, unimproved, application to the practice of life. Eloquence is whatever accomplishes the ends of persuasive speaking in business: and, I can solemnly affirm, that, throughout my experience, I have never known any qualities but those I just now mentioned, to prove of the smallest use in PARLIAMENTARY ORATORY.

Now the habits which create and foster such qualities, must be *induræ usque ab teneris unguiculis*. The boy must no sooner

have found, that he has an articulating tongue, than begin to accustom it, by daily practice, to invincible loquacity. Let the talkative nurse be admonished to listen, in turn, to his little gossip. Or, let him be slily instigated to contend, from time to time, to talk her down. And, let both father and mother take special care to encourage him to prate to themselves as much as possible; mimicking his little imperfect prattle, and coaxing him to repeat and continue it, with all the fondling and enticements that they can devise. It will be of extraordinary benefit, if they can bring him into the way of addressing himself, at first sight, to every stranger that enters the house, with the same boldness, pertinacity, and indifference, with which he chatters to his nurse and to themselves. Above all, let none check his self-confidence; none harass him with the correction of his elocution; none by any means intimidate him, as if whatever was by him uttered, were not an hundred times more desirable to be heard, than any thing that could possibly come from another.

That he may not absolutely lose the faculty of being a HEARER, as he becomes a SPEAKER; introduce him, now and then, to strange company, before which, even his boldness must, at the first onset, keep silence: Call French emigrants to keep up their magpie chatter round him: excite his nurse to maintain against him the privilege of her tongue: let him, at times, hear, in one mingled chorus, the howlings from your dog-kennel, the groans of your pig-stye, the screams and hisses from your poultry-yard: or, if you be in London, fail not to carry him, from time to time, to hear a Lecture at the house of the ROYAL INSTITUTION. Should he get, upon any of these occasions, heart-sick of *Hearing*; why, then, let him, as soon after as possible, pay it off in *Speaking*.

Reading.

It is the fashion of these times, for every person's children to be taught to READ: and you cannot avoid compliance with it. The good old times have passed, never, I fear, to

return, when it was no discredit to a prince or a privy counsellor to set his mark to a writing, because he knew not to subscribe his name. Those, however, were the times of Statesmen, Lawgivers, and Heroes, the founders of empires, the authors of modes of government, and of systems of legislation, which have existed in stability ever since. What, indeed, are books good for, but to withhold attention from the reality of life and nature? What can they give but signs instead of things? A Leeds clothier might as reasonably promise you a piece of broad-cloth, without wool or woollen yarn, as any man expect to derive knowledge from books, of which he had not the first elements within his head, before ever he sat down to read them. I would just as soon take Lord Peter's brown loaf for a fillet of veal, as have any book of history, principles, or description, instead of the actual experience of my senses as to the realities it refers to. No! no! reading and writing, at least for lawgivers and statesmen, are among the silk-

worm refinements of human wit, spinning out a shroud in which to smother itself.

Hurt your boy's head, then, as litle as may be, by your unavoidable compliance, in this case, with the habits and manners of the age. Let him learn to read in such a way, that his reading may not mar the much more important parts of his education. The old nurse, or a FRENCH GOVERNESS, is the fittest person you can employ, to teach him his letters. Under either of these instructresses, he may learn to spell, without being withdrawn from that incessant practice,—now in hearing without care to understand,—now in speaking without solicitude to be understood—which must render both these habits as it were essensial to his very existence. A FRENCH GOVERNESS's instructions will hinder him from contracting any unseasonable predilection for finical purity of English pronunciation. He will learn from her to read and speak, like a citizen of Europe, rather than like a mere native of England. He is put in training

even for the post of a foreign ambassador. She will teach him his catechism, either in the Roman Catholic way, or in that of the FRENCH *Esprits Forts*. If matters not in which of the two, he have it. In the one, the self contradictions of absurd superstition; in the other, those of atheism; will duly prepare him for that latitude of belief, and for those easy morals, which are, alone, becoming for an English gentleman. The FRENCH GOVERNESS will be useful to give him various other lessons, which it is unlikely that he should have from any English person, not of French education, whom you might place about him.—She will, indirectly, teach him to fib dexterously, with the air and confidence of truth. She will fire him with more of self-conceit than his mind could be otherwise inflamed to, at this puerile age. She will initiate him in that gallantry which is ever the first thing to make a child think like a man: and, as your boy is a destined M. P. you cannot, too soon, make a little man of him. She will

teach him, also, to make a grand show with whatever little knowledge he may have got. And you will not deny, that it is, to the full, as great a merit to seem to the world a wise man, at a small expense of real wisdom, as to live in splendour and magnificence, with a very frugal consumption of money.

Should you, by some extraordinary ill luck, be unable to procure such a FRENCH GOVERNESS as I recommend; you may find your purpose nearly as well answered, if you send your boy to one of those FRENCH SEMINARIES in the environs of London, where little communities of unmarried French-men and French-women live together *in all the* CHASTE *and* FOND ENDEARMENTS *for which French manners are so peculiarly distinguished;* join a little seminary of boys to a contiguous seminary of girls; and, with exemplary diligence, thus discipline the future manhood and matrons of England, in that knowledge, that religion, those morals, that sense of cleanliness, and those manners, which must be becoming in the people of this

country, when they shall be the subjects of France.

Or, should you not find it convenient to place your child to your mind, in one of these hot-beds; I think you might even send him to any one of the trading English boarding-schools in the vicinity of London. He may, there, learn to read, without catching any early smack of pedantry. He will not be likely to contract any unseasonable enthusiasm for bookishness. His mind will not be over-impregnated with principles of morality or religion. He will be turned adrift among boys older than himself, among whom he may quickly acquire almost all the hardihood, the boldness, the artifices, the superiority to shame, and the precocity of vicious experience, which distinquish E——n and W——r.

Public Schools.

To E—— or W—— the stripling *must* at length be sent. The adventure is hazardous, but unavoidable. I am far from wishing

to be understood, as directing you to send him there, to have his head stuffed with Greek and Latin, or to acquire the sheepishness and the awkward pedantry of a classical scholar. The common opinion of that which constitutes the fitness of sending boys to either of these great seminaries, is perfectly correct. They go—to gain connexions which may be of use to their interests in future life,—to learn the morals and manners of those boys who are to be, afterwards, the first men in their country,—if possible, to distinguish themselves as leaders in the sports, pleasures, wild mischief, and premature dissipation of their school-fellows: certainly, for no other purpose that can deserve a moment's thought. There *is* "a noble way" to classical fame at those seminaries: the aid of a tutor, the kindness of a master, the boldness of the boy himself, may crown him with the fame of being a good scholar, without subjecting him to any dull toil over his tasks. Let your son be taught to keep steadily in view, the ends for which he is sent to this great seminary at which you

fix him. Supply his pockets freely with money. Let him think only of the approbation of his schoolfellows: let him have spirit to despise the milksops who do not scorn that of the masters. Let him aspire to be the first at *quizzing* an awkward stranger,—a sober, bookish boy—if such should happen to be among the crowd,—a tutor too conscientiously troublesome to his pupil,—or a master who is foolish enough to supppose that boys of spirit ought to be ashamed of any pranks of which they can be guilty. Let him have address to escape the toils and miseries of a *fag*, while he is in that condition, himself: and, let him have the vigour to deem no hardship too severe to be imposed on the smaller boy that becomes his own *fag*, and has not the cunning to elude the severity of his commands by outwitting and deceiving him. Let him, if possible, be the first cricket player, the readiest to play the truant for the sake of joining in a fox-chase, the boldest swimmer, the readiest to rob an orchard or storm a hen-roost, the most daring leader in

any school-insurrection that shall threaten the authority of the masters. Let him make himself the first in every bold mischief that belongs properly to rude school-boys; and the first in every anticipated vice or amusement of premature manhood. Let him only shew parts in this way; and throw his fellows behind him. Ask no more.—He will, infallibly, become the ornament of the senate; the very oracle of the cabinet.—Some wiseacre parent may, perhaps, judge otherwise; and ask for more pedant and sheepish qualificaations.—But the test is easy. By what qualities were the E—— and W—— years of the LAST GREAT PARTY-LEADER and STATESMAN that died in office, distinguished? Was he not the foremost in every mischievous and expensive adventure? Was there a spirited vice or folly of manhood into which he did not, while at W—— or E——, prematurely plunge? Did he not attach his schoolfellows to himself for life, chiefly by having been their ringleader in boyish dissipation?—These are the studies and exercises of educa-

tion which teach a knowledge of the human heart, and invest one with the power to overawe or captivate it. The future business of the Senate will differ from the sports,—only in the apparent magnitude of the objects,—not at all, in keenness and duplicity of intrigue, in the play of passions, in the earnestness with which the different interests are prized by the heart, in the ambition, emulation, or strife which arise upon them.

Declamation.

When the hopeful youth visits you, at the seasons of recess, you must not fail to give him, proper supplementary lessons. To inspire him with forwardness and self-confidence must still be your principal object. Set him to declaim upon any subject in human affairs; according to the method that succeeded so well towards wards making a parliamentary orator of the famous PHILIP Duke of WHARTON. Allow him, as Lord H—— did with C——

F——, to rummage, tear, and burn
most important papers at pleasure. O
the great Earl of C——— is reported to
done for his illustrious second son, accu
your intended legislator to dispute with
and speechify to you, with the same s
as if he were, himself, already, the prece
and you but his humble pupil.

Private Theatres.

Sometimes, you may introduce hin
make one among a party of gentlemen
lady performers of private plays. It is
known what wonderful powers for senat
eloquence T*** Sh***d*n, and Mr. Sk*ff
and Mr. Gr*v**l* have acquired by
Æsopus diligence. Did not the Priory
atricals inspire a certain Most Noble Mar
with eloquence and patriotism to check
insolence of the Irish Bench? Is it not
sonably expected of the young *Roscius*,
the time must quickly arrive when it sha
said of him, with unquestionable truth,

political orator, *Nec quicquam viget simile aut secundum?* In short, if you would have your son, hereafter, to turn out a great senator and statesman; make, now, as much as possible, a little mountebank of him!

How to make a Wit.

To be an orator, he must be a wit. Promptitude and confidence of speech are the qualities the most essentially necessary to that power. He who spiritedly blunders out whatever comes uppermost to him, must, infallibly, utter *some* good things.—The next requisite is, to have the memory well-stored with such points of witticism, and such humorous stories, as have been, before, often laughed at, and repeated by others. Nothing is less new, than wit: There is scarce a good thing even in JOE MILLER, that is not as old as the days of PLAUTUS: Therefore, let no one be deterred from the repetition of old wit, by any fears of the charge of plagiarism:—Old wit has, indeed, more than the advan-

tages of old wine: having long since pleased,—and having continued to please,—its power is certain: but, who could say as much of fresh, untried wit, that had never made any mortal laugh before?—There is nothing with which taste and criticism have less to do, than with wit: whatever makes people laugh *with* you, that,—be it pun, smut, conundrum, or whatever else pedants may choose to term it,—is absolutely true wit: it produces the effects of wit—a test unequivocal of its genuineness.

My plain, express advice, then, is, that you make your destined orator to get by heart, every morning, the witticisms from the columns of any one of our Newspapers—especially from that hot-bed of puns, and conundrums, the *Morning Post*. "They are the "very reverse of true wit,"—exclaims some pedant:—"they are false, they are stale." No matter: they make people laugh: the call for them is perpetual, and increases perpetually: they are eagerly read at the most fashionable breakfast tables: they supply wit

for the day, to nine tenths of the brisk talkative persons upon the town: they are, to all purposes, wit—for, they produce its surest, most unequivocal effects. Now, the boy who gets by heart, these *beauties* of the *Morning Post* for but three months successively, will be, at the end of that time, a consummate master of even the whole *Encyclopædia of Wit:* and, if he possess but the necessary coldness and firmness of spirit, will be competent to distinguish himself as a wit of the first water, upon every one of the great occasions in business or social converse, which admit of its being shewn off to advantage. I name the term of three months, because any three months exhaust all the wit, good or bad, that newspapers supply. It is, with them, at the end of this term, ever a return to the old, like that of "a dog to his vomit.—When the young man has gone through the course; let him employ the puns which he has learned, with prompt intrepidity, upon all occasions. Let him watch for the occasion, studiously; and even blurt

them out, at all hazards, seasonably or unseasonably, rather than not make himself expert in the use of them. He may, if he choose, study the same bright things, also, in the comedies of Reynolds, Morton, and Tommy Dibdin. But, above all, let no ridicule deter him from the constant private study of the good old manuel of JOE MILLER. No one ever pretended to laugh at another for filching from JOE MILLER, that had not learned, by experience,—what a treasure of wit honest JOE's volume supplied.

Universities.

The next *move* is to the University. Adieu, from this hour, to study, to restraint, to confinement to pedantic exercises of any kind! I have no choice to recommend between Oxford and Cambridge. Let circumstances of private humour or connexion determine you. The society of the fellows in the common-room, will be of admirable benefit to form our young Gentleman-com-

moner,—if he can be persuaded to endure it,—to that humdrum soaking seriousness,—faintly enlivened, now and then, with a sober joke, a thread-bare classical pun, or a smutty tale,—which is of very good use in parliamentary committees, or over a beef-steak and a glass of port in Bellamy's, and upon all those occasions when members are obliged to hang on in waiting, hour after hour, merely that they may be in readiness to give their votes if the house shall divide. There is, perhaps, also, another reason of no small consequence, on account of which the destined senator may do well to attach himself, at least occasionally, to the society in the common-room. The Lacedæmonians are said to have exhibited their slaves, drunk, to their children, to deter the latter from drunkenness. And I don't know that there is any thing more likely to disgust a young man, for ever, with all that is slovenly, sneaking, coarse, and pedantic in the speech, habits, and manners, of gownsmen, than such displays as he must witness in the grand

scenes of snug academical lounging and conviviality. In the common-room, disgust will give him the deepest impressions against certain things which it is desireable that he should perpetually avoid; while he must, on the other hand, acquire certain habits which, amid the great destined business of his future life, may be found, often, very convenient.

He must, for form sake, have a tutor. But, it is not necessary that he attend the tutor's lectures, or suffer him to direct his private studies. It is enough, that he reside, for a time, among University-folks, and breathe their academical air. If he occasionally wait upon his tutor, let it be to make a jest of the fellow's solemn pedantry. If he open any books of serious Instruction, let it be to break a joke upon them. Let him, in particular, be careful, never to let a sober student or a solemn occasion escape from before him, without being made the butt of some smart, confounding sarcasm. The resources to supply him with such sarcasms, I have pointed out, already. The exercises for degrees he

may buy ready made. If he do not, from time to time, commit such dashing irregularities as may bring him under the censure of the proctors; it will be a proof, that he is deficient in the bold and free spirit of an English gentleman.

Excursions to London, to Woodstock, to Newmarket, to every scene at any convenient distance, that is attractive to youthful curiosity, will, very properly, occupy his time whenever the frolics of the University begin to languish There are vices, of which, though I do not expressly enumerate, describe, and recommend them, I should certainly discourage nothing but the habitual and maddened excess. No man can become wise by another's experience. How should any youth be prepared to act his part, as a man, in the business of the great world, who has not, at the university age, had his wench, drunk his three bottles at a sitting, lost his bets upon horse-racing, running, shooting, boxing, dice, or cards? It is not necessary, that you absolutely prompt your son to such

treble negotiations. The *knowing one* on the turf will, the most readily, become knowing in the nice arts and minute distinctions by which the matches in St. S———'s Chapel, or on the hustings in Covent Garden will fall to be decided. I had almost said, that he who knows to cog a die, to hide a card seasonably, to bribe a groom to make the horse he rides disappoint those who have taken the long odds, will be fittest person for all the subtle arts of diplomatic intrigue. We know, that strait-laced, austere morality, is not, in the present state of this world's affairs, to be too punctiliously adhered to, whether in gaming or in politics. And of such great indispensible businesses in life, it cannot but be highly proper to make the one subservient to the improvement of the mind for the practice of the other.

Newspapers.

I had almost forgotton one thing of signal importance in our young M. P.'s education.

He should, now, begin to receive some formal lessons in parliamentary politics. For these I can refer him to no better school, than that to which he was sent for wit. The cistern has two pipes, out of the one of which it pours politics, while wit spouts out at the other. The *Morning Newspapers* of the metropolis, in their reports of the debates in parliament, in their solemn political paragraphs, and especially in those which are called their leading articles, contain all that it is, in the least necessary, for our young Hopeful to study, in order to render himself a consummate proficient in the whole art and mystery of domestic and even foreign politics. They are the only school in which all our great orators and statesmen now take their degrees. They are the only reading for which a member of parliament and man of fashion can well be supposed to have leisure. The reports of the debates may be regarded as the productions—jointly of the members to whom the speeches are respestively attributed,—and the reporters, a set of journey-

men printers, taylors, cabinet-makers, and attorney's clerks, the most eminently qualified to repeat, to point, to amplify, to inform the eloquence of parliamentary orators. All matters of public business, and all the subjects of legislative discussion, are, in those reports, unfolded, with a natural confusion of thoughts and language the most unequivocal proof of the fidelity of the reporter. They present no examples of elegant, correct, or glowing phraseology, to reduce the student to despair. A Cicero, and a Demosthenes display specimens of eloquence too consummately *perfect* for the actual practice of modern *life* and business: the reports of our debates in parliament, give such wisdom as a Sancho Panza might utter, in such composition as a letter-writing parish-clerk might indite. They possess, too, that interesting perfection to rush, always, into the middle of things. They are the genuine, unvarnished pictures of the minds of the speakers. They, with the other contents of our public papers, have

become almost the only reading of the whole body of the people of these united kingdoms. There is not a wise saying in the "groat's worth of wit," that is not, from time to time, repeated in these reports. They touch, at one time or another, in one form or another, upon every topic of public business. They differ so very little, but in the mere application, from such eloquence as our young *Eleve* has, himself long since declaimed in the ears of his nurse and his French governess, that, while he reads, he cannot fail to become, all at once,

"Conscious of powers he never knew,
"And grasp at things beyond his view,
"Nor, by another's fate, submit to be confin'd!"

He will soon discover, that the great topics of debate are far from being numerous; that praise is bestowed much rather upon length, loudness, and pertinacity in error, if that error be adopted as an article of party-creed, than upon such pedantic merits as a school-

master might extol in his orators of classical antiquity; that a haranguer of two hours is thought a much more eloquent man than one that speaks but half an hour, he of five hours much greater than he of two,—just as if among writers, the author of a folio however leaden, should be preferred to him who had published but a duodecimo, though this last was *merum sal;* that puns and trite jokes come, with prodigious effect, from the mouth of a Member of Parliament,—if the leading mutes on the same side of the house have but their cue to laugh and applaud at the proper moments; that it is not expected of a member,—though he be even thirty or forty years in parliament, and bustle perpetually in its business, to make himself tolerably acquainted with the forms of the house; that, simply to speak, at all hazards, and in whatever manner, is much more important, than to have any anxiety about what one should say.

The POLITICAL PARAGRAPHS in newspapers, are shreds of speeches, or, to pursue

the similitude, bits of rags, or ends of threads, put up to look as like as possible to shreds of speeches. It is common for an *Iscariot Hackney* of a newspaper editor to take a favorite speech, such as that of a *Robson*, a *Burdett*, or a *Sheridan*, and to do with it as I remember to have with some brother bucks of the time, done some fifty years since, with *Fanny Murry's* shoe, at the Castle Tavern. The damask upper part we had tossed up in a ragoût: the sole we had minced for us: the wooden heel was cut into very thin slices, fried in batter, and placed round the dish for garnish. This fancy in cookery made an odd show: but, the dish was not good eating. Yet, the extravagance of the hour excited us, all, to contend—who should praise it the most. Now, the *tritical sentiments* in these *disjecta membra* of a Parliamentary Orator's speech, are quite as tritical in paragraphs, as in the continuity of the speech itself: the *puns* are just as silly, in the one way, as in the other: the *ponderous phrases* big with no meaning,

appear peculiarly unmeaning, wh
stand single, each upon its own fe
the *political lies* have less of the
power of lies, if presented singly
mon newspaper authority, than w
come in, phalanx after phalanx, *jun*
bonibus, and upon a member of parl
honourable asservation. The paragr
out of a speech are a mere disguised
nothings, in the French taste, just
as were our shreds of silk, timber,
leather. The one may have, in t
little zest and instruction to the n
there was, in the other, of nourish
the stomach, or of poignant relish
palate. But, as the extravagance o
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fricassee of whore's shoe, the favou
upon our supper-table; so the gen
sion for politics, scandal, newspap
nonsense; together with the general
of intelligence respecting Political
render the farrago of paragraphs that
of—the most important by their i

upon public opinion,—the most valuable to the destined M. P. as hints, maxims, and beauties to be committed to memory,—a school, in truth, of all the *effectively* good things of parliamentary eloquence and wisdom. I must, incessantly repeat to the candidates for eminence in parliament, that it is not for them to regard the common distinctions and epithets of morality or criticism. *They are to study only what will have effect and influence in parliamentary business.* That, that alone, is to be to them, in speech, in writing, in action; the Good, the True, the Eloquent, the Beautiful, the Sublime. This principle, I intreat the reader to bear fresh in his remembrance while he proceeds through the rest of these admonitions.

The LEADING ARTICLES are, it is true, distinguished from the others, but by greater length, superior boldness in ribbaldry, and more remarkable temerity in absurd decision. But, they are the most universally and eagerly read. They furnish to coffee-house politicians, their supply of speculation and

eloquence for the day. They even put arguments into the mouths of speakers in parliament. They exercise, in this manner, an influence incalculably powerful upon the course of public opinion. They enter into the very substance of the minds of Englishmen. They have become to honest John Bull, a sort of stupefying dose that he can no more do without, than can a Turk live without opium, or a sailor, when he gets ashore at Plymouth, deny himself the use of trulls, grog, or tobacco. If what was mean and trivial be exalted by any accident, to great power and effect: it is trivial no longer. The cackling of a goose, if it save a capital, is preferable to the death-song of a swan. A garnish of asses brains may be, upon occasion, worth its weight in gold. It is in the spirit of modern manufacture, to turn the vilest materials to the most important uses: and wherever this is done effectually, the invention by which it is accomplished becomes inestimable. If I can do with oyster shells, what you cannot perform without a combus-

tion of diamond, or a solution of oriental pearls; have not I infinite advantage over you in this point of comparison. Even the vilest linen rags may be manufactured into the richest wire-woven paper. How foolish were it, then, to despise the power of the *Leading Articles*, on account of the meanness or incongruity of their materials?

Cobbett's Works.

But, if among things of this nature, there were any one worthy of decisive preference, I should particularly recommend the weekly pamphlets of that great wit and profound statesman Mr. COBBETT. Never was there another such instance, of what power may be exercised over English understandings by all that the critic, the classical scholar, the philosopher, and even the man of tolerably refined common sense, pretend to despise. His *logic* may be, perpetually, that of the *madman*, who from wrong principles, draws conclusions which are not rightly deducible

from them,—or, that of the *idiot* who, however right his principles, has not energy of thought to reason rightly from them. Let his quotation of proverbs be abundant and indiscriminating as that of Sancho Panza. Let his rhetoric remind one only of sour small-beer from Chiswell-street, and of spoiled ox-gall from Clare-market. Grant, that never man exercised such imperious annihilating despotism over the rules of grammar since father Adam gave their proper names to the brutes. I contend not that even all the heroes of the Dunciad, and all their successors mustered together, could exhibit a richer or more varied abundance of examples, of the Bathos, than the pages of Cobbet alone afford. I will even own, that his pranks in geography and chronology, exercise a power over time and space which not Homer nor Shakespeare ever knew. Nor shall I insist, that *Sir Gregory Gazette* is not in comparison with him, a very Argus of early and correct intelligence; the *Upholsterer* of *Murphy* a miracle of political sagacity and foresight.

I even agree with his opponents, that malice turns from poison to vapid filth—as it distils from his pen:—his versatility of principle I shall not deny to be that of a weathercock. But, what of all this? his weekly pamphlets are eagerly purchased by members of parliament, and by other persons of the same rank of life and intelligence. They are praised, quoted, and referred to, by all but mere pedants in taste and humdrum wisdom. Peers and commoners, lords spiritual and temporal give Cobbet for an authority, sooner than Blackstone, Hatsell, the Bible, or the Journals of either House. Mr. W———m never proposed to erect a statue of gold to his master, B—ke. Of what obligations of inspiration and instruction must he not, then, have been conscious towards Cobbet, when he could, in the house of Commons, make such a proposition in his favor, as to erect, in honour of his political genius, his statue in SOLID GOLD. There is scarce a country gentleman in England, whose understanding is not either above or under the common level of

intellect in honest JOHN BULL's family, but takes in Cobbet's register. Many an ingenious man of other consequence in society, prides himself in writing letters for insertion in Cobbet's numbers, which, though anonymous, are not without marks to indicate the author to their particular friends. These facts mark the importance of the study of Cobbet's register. Not that I would expect of our young Oxford or Cambridge bachelor to read every number of this precious work. Who, indeed, does read it? To buy it, to pay for it, to mark the contents, to cull from it some few flowers of Billingsgate abuse, and some paradoxes of Gotham politics, will be quite enough. But, if this be repeated, week after week, till Cobbet cease to write, the student will become more entirely master of all this political sage's wisdom, than if he should set to, in a manner too intemperate,—and should like a certain famous Statesman and orator, (*surely not Mr.* S———*y* W———M?) endeavour to commit to memorg, *verbatum*, the whole works of *Peter*

Porcupine. It is enough that you be able to say boldly, that you "have seen *the* COBBET of last week," and to declaim with violence in its praise. Should you, by any accident, afterwards betray, in conversation, that you have been extolling that which you had not read; even the pedants will forgive you when you shall briskly reply, that you "had rather praise than read it." Who, indeed, *does*, now, think it necessary to read any new publication, before he assumes the authority of extolling or condemning it? Must the ass swallow the thistle before he shall be at liberty to reject it as too dry and rotten even for his taste? Shall the groom be compelled to chew and digest every sample of hay and oats that is presented to him, in order to his making a choice for his horses? Is it forbidden, to praise a beautiful woman, or to run from the presence of a diseased and ugly one, without having kissed her eyes a thousand times, sucked her breath, and twined her to one's bosom? Finally, of the works

of Cobbet, I can only say farther, *Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.*

Use of Dancing to a Statesman.

The last think I should wish to recommend in the home-education of the future minister, is that he be carefully instructed in the "ART OF DANCING." The humdrum and the ignorant may laugh at such a proposition: but, men of refined sense and deep penetration will receive it in a very different manner. Who has not heard of the French candidate for public employment, whose petition, though presented in Balzac prose, in Quinault poetry, and even sung in Lulli music, would, after all, have failed, if he had not luckily bethought himself of proposing to dance it, and danced it with such grace and power, that his patron could no longer deny him any thing? What have not Chancellors and *Chancellors of the Exchequer*, got, in this country, by their pro-

ficiency in *Dancing?* There is, in fact, much more of a mysterious connexion between the head and the heels, than the world is well aware of. Mr. P—T, financial minister of the country, at a time when its resources were abundant and improving, might contrive to find the ways and means, year after year, without possessing genius to run a reel, to walk a minuet, to cut capers in a hornpipe, or to lead down a country-dance. But, was not the country ruined by such goings on? Were not its financial resources exhausted almost irretrievably, when he escaped by death from the difficulties into which he had been unable to hinder affairs from declining? Who but a successor, the lively yet regulated movement of whose heels was continually jogging the inventive powers of his head, could have been able to restore and maintain public credit in a crisis like this? Who but a Chancellor of the Exchequer with talents, and a culture of them, that would qualify him even to be master of the ceremonies at Margate, or the very first

teacher of Scotch steps, in London, could have so ingeniously contrived to find so much of the supplies for 1806, by an increase of the DIRECT TAXES.,—taxes which, taking the subjects money out of his pocket, without suffering him to suppose, that he has bought with it, any thing to consume, whether luxury or necessary, thus oblige him to feel all the value of the sacrifice that is extorted from him,—taxes which operate upon John Bull, in the true spirit of the Roman tyrant's direction to his executioner, *Ita feriri ut se sentidt mori.* Who but a financier of dancing practise, could have so dexterously taken up the *pig-iron* of the country to be taxed—and then so nimbly shoved it down, and from him, again? There was the very skill of a ballet-master in the care to enlarge the treasury company with the new auditors of accompts. Besides, as the steps, in dancing, beat time to music; why may they not beat time, also to the operation of arithmetic, and to the details of Financial calculation? A wise and spirited

minister, while he seems to be only capering in a jig, or imitating the feints and extasies of love in a fandango, may be, all the while; *Jedediah Buxton*—ing it, at the calculation of a new tax,—or may be verifying and improving the whole scheme of the budget for the year! To attain to due skill in the art of such financial importance, it may be not improper to send the rising senator, for some short time, to Edinburgh. Though he go to Edinburgh, it is not to pore out his eyes in study. No: he may lend his ears occasionally to the professors who teach, that no cause has an effect, and no effect, a cause: he may prate away, at times, in some *speculative society*. For the rest,—let him dance,—and affect, from the precocity of his vast talents, and the advantages of his previous education, to give the *ton* in every company.

Foreign Travel.

To consummate this education, he must, at length, proceed upon FOREIGN TRAVEL. A SWISS VALET, qualified to provoke and

ape the vices, as occasionally to represent the person, of his master, must be his favourite attendant. He may take with him, also, some intriguing French Abbé, Count, or Chevalier, chosen out of the illustrious band of the emigrants, to be his tutor. Not having had the good fortune to be among those whom Bonaparte detains at Verdun, he cannot, while the war continues, go to pay his court at St. Cloud, or to study jacobinism, servitude, personal nastiness, and grimace, at Paris. But, he may take shipping for the Baltic; he may pop in upon his majesty of Sweden, at Stralsund, at Stockholm, or perhaps at Bekascog. He may pay his respects to the hereditary prince of Denmark, at Copenhagen. He may proceed to pass his winter at St. Petersburgh. I would not absolutely advise him to make the tour to Archangel or Siberia. But, he may very properly pay a hasty visit to Moscow; hurry through the Crimea to Odessa; descend the black sea to Constantinople. At Constantinople, he can smoke,

swallow opium, try the delights of a seraglio, entice the Turks to get drunk with wine, in defiance of the law of Mahomet. It may be left to his own choice and convenience, whether he will survey the road of Aboukir, the sand-hills of the approach to Alexandria, Alexandria itself, and those other scenes in Egypt so illustrious by the transcendant displays of British valour. Enthusiasm might suggest as much. But, I do not see that it can have much to do with the primary objects of our young M. P.'s travels. If not afraid of approaching too near to the confines of Bonapartes's circle, he may visit the court of Vienna, and follow the Archdukes to the encampments of the imperial troops. If he have, in him, much of a bold spirit of adventure, let him penetrate to Cattaro. He may get thence, how he can, to Corfu, and from Corfu to Malta. If he choose to visit Sicily and Sardinia, let him. On his return, he may peep into Gibraltar: and, at last, he may loiter, for a while, and warble love-songs with Lord Str——d, at Lisbon, From Lis-

bon, his course will be quick and straight to Falmouth. Should he fall into the hands of the French; he will only see so many more countries. Such an event might even be desirable, were it not for the risk of his being detained too long from entering upon his high political destination at home. I do not absolutly recommend to send him on a tour, through the United States of North America; unless it be the design of his family, that he should marry a Lady of the blood of the Washingtons; and should, at a future time, return to the seat of the Anglo-American Government, in the high character of Ambassador from His Majesty of G——B——. To complete his Coryat enterprises, it will not be amiss, that as soon as may be after his return from abroad, he make excursions to the lake of killarney, the bog of Allen in Ireland, the height of Ben Lomon, and the Caledonian Canal in Scotland, the lakes of Cumberland, the iron-works of Colebrookedale, the potteries of the Wedgewoods, the mints of Bir-

mingham, and the tin mines of Cornwall.

But, though I recommend so much travel to this ambitious youth; far be it from me to propose, that he should harrass himself in it, with the study of laws and policy, of languages and literature, of arts military or civil, of the science of the Heavens, or of any part of that science which numbers and arranges the things of the earth. I am not so absurd. To have the benefit of rapid locomotion; to lose the prejudices of a mere home-bred Englishman; to sow his wild oats at a distance from the contempt of those whom he is hereafter to represent, as a legislator; to make the most of the servility and supple dissipation of his tutor and valet; to shew an English youth to Europe, precisely such as the novels, the travellers, the smart satirists, and the philosophers of France and Germany, have long represented our English youth to be, to exchange the easy purity of English speech for a Babylonish dialect, a lingua Franca, made up of a *hash* of

phrases out of all the languages of Europe; to acquire the Munchausen right to boast of hair-breadth escapes, and adventures of incredible intrepidity; to gain a right to speak of foreign affairs in parliament with any boldness ef impertinance and absurdity: These are the proper objects for which our youth has travelled. He returns, of course, a connoisseur in all the mazes of passion, vice, and folly, known in Europe. He is qualified to be an Envoy, a Plenipotentiary, or an ambassador, whenever he shall have interest and parliamentary consequence to obtain any such appointment. Or should the turn of things require this of him; he may even sacrifice the honour of his country, and the last hopes of European independence, to the artifices of some new-made prince of Benevento, with all the frankness and forward cullibility of Mr. F——. Nay, he may afterwards defend the sacrifice with eloquence as nasal, as monotonous, as incomprehensible in its logic, and as perplexingly incongruous in its facts, as that of

Lord H—— himself. And, if a sapient ministry should find the thing necessary to its salvation; he may become quite as fit, upon occasion, to enact the 'scape—goat, even as poor good Lord Y———th!

CHAPTER II.

Of Elections.

Different Places to be represented.

When the momentous æra arrives, at which our accomplished youth is to offer himself a candidate for immediate election into the senate; he may be, more or less advantageously situate in regard to ELECTION INFLUENCE.

Perhaps, he has the command of what is called a *close borough*.

Or, possibly, he may be *Altera Spes* of a family that maintains to itself, by a sort of

prescriptive right, the representation of some *county*.

Or, he may be able to secure a seat to himself by a *congé d'elire* from the minister.

Or, he may be without family or ministerial influence; and may have no way to secure his election but by paying down the money for it.

Or, he may try the enterprize, and it may be justified by the magnitude of his fortune, to attempt the glory of creating the new family and personal influence, in some county or borough, by the merit of an expensive and hazardous competition.

Or, perhaps, he may have it in his choice to come in, as the dependent of an opposition peer, or commoner of great election influence.

Close Boroughs.

A CLOSE BOROUGH, in a gentleman's own command, is, truly, a very snug thing.

The smaller the population of
rough; it is for election uses, s
better. *Old Sarum* is, in this
best borough-property in Engl
for the convenience of men
devoutly to be wished, that all o
having elective franchises, were
the same state. What a happy
all the borough-population were
villages, having, like Manchest
tive rights,—and all the borou
franchises were confined to the
cient boroughs, exhibiting now
ubi Troja fuit! Had we but,
reign countries are said to have
good old time, a premier duk
moner of overgrown wealth to
ample, within his burgage-pro
grand consummation might, n
accomplished. In the mean ti
unpleasant to know, that our E
at their nuptials, adopt the very
who, in the eastern tale, are re
celebrating the glory of Sultan

and sing, "long live J—— of N——: for, "while he survives, we shall never want "depopulated burghs!"

These *close burghs* are, in truth, a property troublesome and ticklish perhaps even more than in proportion to its value. However dependent upon you, their wretched *pot-walloppers;* you are ever held still more in dependence on them. They must be watched, cockered, threatened, humoured, and checked, with endless solicitude. After all, it shall go hard with them; but, sooner or later, one or another will find means to plot against the lord of the manor's power. And, if that superior be a weak man, of feverish irritability of temper; ten to one but he may be driven, at length, to sell his burgh, in order to rid himself of the vexations it produces to him.

But, the youth who has been prepared, on my plan, for political life, must not act thus with his family borough. He must hold the unruly beast tight by the head. He must use whip and spur with spirit. He

may, now, stroak the mane, and cry "So! so! good brute!" Again, let him fix himself firm in the saddle, and subdue the unruly animal into temper. He who will have and hold such a prize, must pay the price. But, the education he has had, has been adapted to make my young senator delight to pay it. And, it is a peculiar recommendation of the value of a *close borough*, that, to be its representative, a gentleman wants less of that troublesome bauble, *Character*, than is required in the candidate to represent any other place, whether borough or county, which stands not in this previous relation to him.

A County.

To represent a great county, is the grand ambition of most of our commoners of large fortune. But, the thing is a bauble which should be left to those who prize it, and are good for nothing else but to wear it. Have you not an unimpeachable personal character; you can hardly prevail in the com-

petition for such an object. If your character be of the first rank for public virtues and political talents, its very splendour and dignity will only create jealousies against you, and invite rival candidates to affect the honor of being successless competitors with a person of your acknowledged importance. The electors for a county are apt to demand a disagreeable and solicitous respect and attention, not only from the candidate for their suffrages, but from him who has got the majority, during the whole time of his being their representative. He has all the proud jealousies of the gentry to bear, and all the rude insolence of the rabble of forty shilling freeholders. He must make himself their drudge, their beast of burthen, their sturdy beggar solicitor to fetch and carry, scramble and importune, at their demand, and for their interest or humour, without ever bringing his own into account. And there are so many Road-bills, Estate-bills, Inclosure-bills, Petitions, Remonstrances, &c. &c. from his

county, to be introduced into parliament, and, by his agency, conducted through it, that it is wholly impossible for him who does the business of these with faithfulness and assiduity to have leisure to distinguish himself in matters of general legislation; or to aspire to appointment to ministerial functions. County-representation suits none but men of moderate talents and secondary ambition. It is to be left to him who, for the gratification of fancying himself the first gentleman of his county, is willing to make himself, its most implicit and subservient slave. His highest hope can be only of a Peerage to his family upon some fortunate occasion when the jealousies of his constituents shall not forbid his temporary co-operation with minsters. He is to pride himself upon a steady disdain of official power and emolument. He is to speak, rather in order to shew—what are his sentiments, and what the sense of his constituents, than to illuminate by his knowledge, or to persuade by his eloquence. He is to hold himself infinitely remote from all sus-

picion of the designs of a political adventurer. He is to strive merely to approve himself, a man of weight, by his honesty of intention, by his fortune and scale of expense, and by the subsistence of a perpetual good understanding between him and a majority of his constituents. No! No! This will never do for the young man who is educated to ascend by the ladder of Parliamentary eloquence and activity, to the very height of Ministerial Greatness.

And yet, there may be an instance in which a young man of bold political ambition, though with more money than wit, shall find the struggle of a contested election for a county,—far possibly the most numerous, the most refractory, the most tumultuous, the most licentiously independent, body of freeholders in the empire,—to be the enterprize the most exactly suited to his spirit, and to such talents, as God and Nature have gifted him with. It is right, that there should be a beast for every different sort of burthen.—I feel an inclination to lend

my best advice to every one that aspires to consequence, as an agitator in state affairs.—I shall, therefore, not scruple to suggest the arts and practices by which I think such a candidate the most likely to succeed to his wishes.

He must be sure to set out in fierce and loud opposition to the government interest.

He must raise, among the rabble, a hue-and-cry against the government, as ever in foul conspiracy, or in open hostility against the franchises of the county to which he desires to recommend himself.

He must insist, that the liberties of that county are gone for ever, if *he* be not immediately chosen their protector.

He must represent the common order of law and justice within the county, as the most barbarous violence of oppression. No matter, however much it be the very reverse of that. He has but to say the word, to stand obstinately by it, to bid defiance to refutation and conviction; the clamorous idle and dissolute to whom it is impossible, that

even the mildest of this world's laws should be a friend, will not fail to take up the accusation with fierce belief, and to re-echo it, till the clamour shall confound the senses of all around, even to the degree of persuading or rather stunning the weaker of the sober-minded, out of the unbiassed, unquestionable knowledge of their own understandings.

He must not think of such an enterprize, if he have not the fortune of a Nabob to lavish upon it. He must confine his whole expenditure within this channel. No horses; no hounds; no mistresses; no charities: nothing to Science, Literature, or the Arts, unless perhaps to some old *Abbé Sieyes*, distinguished only by low but dark cunning, and by the wildest and most diabolical political misanthropy: nothing for the improvement of his estates, nothing for the relief of unprosperous tenants, even in years of general calamity: nothing for splendour of domestic establishment, nothing to honourable hospitality, little or nothing to the comforts or decncey of a wife, or to the education of

his children.—His children? Let him even dispose of them as *Sir Francis Wronghead* disposed of his younger sons and daughters when he took his famous journey up to London. On the other hand, let him scatter, on all sides, for his election-ends. He must buy mobs, bullies, scribblers, good votes, bad votes, truth, perjury, declaimers, hawkers, attornies, whole corresponding-societies. He must give without haggling. He must convince the rabble of his election-agitators, that he is a fatted calf such as will cut up to their satisfaction in the cawl, and will tallow well upon the kidnies.

He must accuse his rivals and adversaries of every imaginable foul practice. He must not hesitate himself to employ, if he can get advantage, every unfair art which he imputes to them. He must, by whatever daring subornation, procure damning evidence that they are guilty of whatever he choses to accuse them of. He must repeat the charges in the face of every defence, however seemingly irrefragable. He

must, at all hazards, clamour his charges into full popular belief.

Vigilant to avail himself of every expedient by which even a single vote may, at the election, be added to those which are given for himself; or one voter withheld from coming forward in behalf of a rival candidâte; let him set his mobs to interrupt the progress of his opponents to the scene of the election; omit no artifice nor even violence to protract or precipate the proceedings to his own convenience; overawe and embarrass the returning officers by the impudence, the perplexed sophistry, the tongue-doughtiness of his assistant counsel, and his inspectors of votes; confound those who come to vote against him, by the bawling ribbaldry of his gangs of mob-haranguers; impute every foul practice to those who are against him, and under this cover, stick at no foul practice for himself; perpetually impeach the impartiality of the returning officers; drive them, if possible, to violate the law of election for his sake, and

if in this unsuccessful, and worsted in the contest, after every effort, let him, then, move Heaven and Earth, if he can, with cries of partiality, corruption, and injustice, against the competitor who has prevailed, the freeholders supporting him, the returning officers, the government, the court, the laws, the constitution, the whole policy and manners of the country he belongs to. He is to hazard every extremity of perseverance in the contest. He is to support himself boldly by holding a legion of myrmidons ready suborned to vouch upon oath whatever he shall dictate, whether in his own favour or to blacken and overthrow his adversaries. He must endeavour to his aid, all the idle, the weak-minded, the discontented, the dissolute, throughout the empire. He must strive to make himself so much the more for his defeat the first, the most turbulent, the most dangerous of demagogues. He must not hesitate to sacrifice to the rabble he has gathered round him, his family, his fortune, and all

the other interests he has in the world. For his reward, let him trust to the gratitude of the mob, to his consciousness of exalted and disinterested patriotism, to the felicity of having galled the hearts of his adversaries, and made them odious, to the chance of a revolution that shall raise him to be to the Bonaparte, the Cromwell, the Jack Cade, or the Mas-Aniello of his country!

This is the true career for him to pursue who feels, that he has a vocation from Nature for such an enterprize. Nor let his endeavours be thought mischievous. Activity of all sorts is the grand duty of man in political life. Let each man follow his genius; but still be doing—still *keep moving*. The chapter of accidents will make all turn out for the best. What a low stage of improvement must all human society have been in, at this moment, had it not been for those great spirits who, in every country, and in every age, have, from time to time, turned all topsy-turvy; and, with blind bother-headed ambition, putting in hazard all that should

have been privately dear to themselves, have thus acquired, as they think, a right to trample upon the antiquated order of society, and the common interests of humanity, at their pleasure. You may tell me, that a Malay running a *muck* is a harmless being in comparison with the enterprizes and the turmoil of such political ambition as this. But, pray, was there ever much good done among mankind, without carrying a good deal of arm along with it?

Another County Contest.

There is another species of contest for the superiority in a county-election that requires also, a wild boldness and many sacrifices on the part of the Don Quixote candidate who adventures in it.

It is when a man of high talents, of great experience, considerable in the estimation of the public, and already in important official employment; having, however, in his composition, a dash of the eccentric, the capri-

, the romantic; forgets plain conve-
:e and utility; and sets an imaginary
:, fixes the point of honour for himself,
ırrying the election for a county, in
h, above all others, there are the strong-
rejudices against him, the stiffest thicket
ɔstacles opposing any probability of his
ess.

ch men there have been. Such a man
be at present. Is there one who has
educated to prefer the ingenious and the
doxical to the true? Who contemns
ruism common-places of vulgar expe-
e? Who delights in subtleties and re-
reuts to the entire exclusion of sober logic
of rational induction from his political
ılations? Whose converse has been
ly with flighty orators and system-mon-
? Who possesses talents sufficient to
ſy him to a certain degree for being con-
dly in love with even the follies and the
nesses of his genius? Who can make
elf the champion of boxing? The cu-
t of bull-baiting? Who can demand

statues of gold to a viler and duller *Isca*
Hackney than ever before befouled pa
even in England? Who would provide
the defence of his own country by disarm
its fighting men? Who would perfect
discipline of its armies by turning over
soldiers to pensioned idleness, in the e
prime of their years? Whose oratory
but a linsey-wolsey texture of subtleties,
any fancies with the coarsest witticisms
vulgar life? Whose elocution is freez
while his words and sentiments are hot as
focus of a volcano? Who, instead of stu
ing conciliation, delights to obtrude pro
sitions the most revolting to common se
in a manner the bluntest, the most direct,
least accommodating to the previous idea
others, the most offensive to their prejudi
If such a man there be; this, this is h
pique himself upon making such an unne
sary attempt as I have, above, supposed
force himself upon the choice of s
county.

To succeed—he must, no doubt, in

first place, declare, that this object is the very acme of his ambition. This may give the alarm to his adversaries; and teach them, where and how to direct their hostilities against him with the most certain effect. But, it is frank and fair. It is consonant to that wonted principle of his conduct by which he has always proposed any thing unpopular without glozing it over by the arts of prudence and insinuation Foolhardiness is, many times, very becoming in a great man!

His next care must be to connect himself with an associate and coadjutor, whose principles and political connexions have been hitherto, the most that can be imagined, at variance with his own. Let the new confederates, all at once, cling together like another Pylades and Orestes. Let all which they, separately held dear before, seem vile in their common estimation, compared to the faith and mutual attachment of their new alliance. This conduct will not fail to satisfy the electors to whom our candidate addresses

himself; that it is their duty to change, even as he has changed; that a similar bosom-friendship should, like an *Ignis Fatuus*, be lighted up, all at once, between him and them; that he is, in short, possessed of a versatility of affections and of principles, truly worthy of their choice.

They ought,—I mean the two new confederates,—next, loudly to boast their resolution and their power. The electors should be told, authoritatively, that the Quixotic new candidate has influence to carry his election in spite of any opposition his adversaries are able to make. Even his friends, if any he have among the freeholders, should be taught, that, in voting for him, they do not so much confer a favour as discharge a bounden duty from which they could not be suffered to swerve. This plain boldness will be found commanding and overawing, Or, should it not; it will be at least, quite in character for the hero in whose favour it is employed.

When the moment arrives at which he may

plead his cause before the assembled electors; let him accost them bravely. Let him meet their doubts and prepossessions with lofty disdain. Let him not hesitate to inform them, that he is much too good for them. Let him boast his talents, his virtues, his public services. Let him not fail to tell them, how many bodies of much more desireable constituents would be glad to be represented by him, while he prefers forcing himself on persons who love him not, precisely because they do not love him. After thus galling the feelings of those whom most others would have striven to pacify, to soothe and to conciliate, he may, of course, depart in the persuasion, that he has, by his speech, made his election secure.

In the mean time, let none of those practices of canvass be omitted, which, though continually reprobated, are constantly maintained. Promises, threats, treats, even pecuniary bribes are to be dealt out to the voters separately, with an activity the most indefa-

tigable. It is not the recourse to such pr tices, but detection in them, that is the d grace. Even if a minister, is our Quix candidate to be, by that, precluded from a advantages of canvas which he should ha otherwise, enjoyed? To be a minister, is, enjoy a certain superiority over others. B where were the superiority, if he might n upon an occasion like this, break or elude law as freely as any simple individual?

Let us suppose this adventurous candid elected: what a triumph? No matter h suspicious the practices by which he prev ed, since his object is attained. In elect contests, as in love and war, all arts are lowed. Besides, our hero aspires to g dignity to the country by becoming its t and faithful knight. He seeks but to hav right to act as the guardian of its interes If he has laid any sort of compulsion, dir or indirect, on the choice of the freehold it was only for their own good. And e the parliamentary orator of methodistic

suistry will not deny, that where the ends are so very good, the means cannot well be bad.

What, if, after all, a petition of a rival candidate should pursue this good man into the house,—if his illegal practices should be clearly detected,—if his return should be pronounced void,—if the Patriot, the Orator, the Statesman, the Minister should thus be exposed to the whole nation in the character of one that violates the fundamental principles of morality, tramples upon the laws of his country, strives to vitiate the representation of the people, all for the sake of a mere whim, and because he would rather be member for a place of which the name is represented by one combination of letters of the alphabet, than for another place the name of which is denoted by a different combination of letters?

Well! What of all this? Nothing very distressing. The hero may console himself with the reflexion, that *magnis cecidit ausis*. And had he not, in his own estimation at

least, so vast a store of character that he may well afford to part with some of it upon an occasion like this?

Great Borough Election Contest.

There are many open boroughs, the representation of which may well become the object of vigorous and expensive election-contests.

I am far, indeed, from recommending to the young man educated expressly for the career of parliamentary and ministerial ambition, to enter into such a contest. Let him, I shall still repeat, waste his energies and his fortune as little as possible in mere electioneering; but reserve himself for the intrigues, the contentions, the toils of the grand parliamentary scene itself.

But, to represent one of the first boroughs in the Empire, may be, very fitly, an object of ambition to a man whom sudden luck in trade has put in possession of more money than he knows how to bestow; and who,

therefore, aspires to the importance of expending a part of it in political bustle.

I can figure to myself, for instance, a person of the meanest birth; deeply impregnated, from infancy, with the wildest democratical principles; impudent, active, clever, yet destitute of temperate wisdom, and a stranger to true enlargement and elevation of mind. I can imagine to myself, that the accidents of human business may have put such a person in the way to get a fortune, without expanding his mind or polishing his manners. Let him be supposed to return to *otium cum dignitate* in his native country while he is still in the vigour of life, and in the ardour of the selfish and ambitious passions. Let him be flushed with his success; by ignorance, full of a conceit, that there is no rank nor office in civil life, above his talents or his deserts; burning with envy of those who are above him, with hatred and vengeful resolutions against such as have, at any time, stood in the way of his success; rapid, shameless, bold in speech, fearful in

the hazard of life; sordid yet expensive; with enough of the fool to be easily rendered a dupe and a cully, yet not without a prodigions deal of disingenuous craft and finessing cunning. This is the very man to go boldly upon the forlorn hope of a contested borough-election.

My advice to him shall be short. Let him begin with accusing and calumniating all that is eminent in the state. Let him satisfy the democratical rabble that he has not departed from the principles of his early education. Let him teach the boldest among them, and those the most hearty in the cause of revolutionary uproar, to whisper or exclaim to one another, with chuckling joy, "*He is one of us.*" Let him hire mobs, lavish money, prompt tumultuous outrage, muster fictitious scandal, libel his opponents, the most foully, in newspapers and posting-bills. On the hustings, let him spare no boldness of ribbaldry, no magnificence of self-applause, no impudence of false pretence, no delusion of vain hope and decoy-

ing promise. Let him not hesitate to employ against his opponents such flatness of contradiction and such virulence of reproach as would expose any other man to the necessity of giving satisfaction in single combat. But, our hero is safe: he is no fighting man: he is content to be but a *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*: he chuses much rather to scold without drawing blood, like the heroes and chiefs of antiquity, than to *Chalk Farm* it like a *Macnamara*. Let him, then, proceed with this spirit in his career till the election shall necessarily close. Is he returned? It is well. Are his expectations frustrated? Still, let him boast a victory.—Let him loudly complain of unfair practices by his opponents. Let him petition the proper tribunal against the return that excludes; and let him renew all his calumnies, outrageous clamours, and disingenuous tricks, while he solicits the cause of his petition. Should he, by all these means, ultimately succeed; one considerable height is gained in the scale of his ambition. If he fail entirely; and if his for-

tune shall have been, in this wild-gooe chace exhausted; let him return to exercise his activity in the practices by which he, at the first, got his fortune. These will, at once, give scope, as before, to the restlessness of his genius, and prepare, and perhaps bring him, with additional experience, a second fortune more suitable than what he, at first, possessed, to the boldness of his political ambition. Or he may call to his friends of the rabble to make up to him what he has expended in following their counsels, and shewing them game. They will not fail of being as generous to him, as they were to John Wilkes, or at least, to Sir W—tk—n L———s.

Government Boroughs and Counties.

A considerable number of boroughs and even counties are ever, at elections, under the decisive influence of government. This happens in two ways. Either the majority of the electors are the tenants, hired servants, or

immediate dependents of the crown; or else the borough or county in question is laid, as it were, at the feet of ministers, by some Commoner or Peer, who possesses the entire controul over it. In either of these cases, the true freedom of election may be said to be overthrown. But, such is the natural course of human things, in the present imperfect condition of humanity. Government *must* engross all the powers it can lay hold of, otherwise these will be seized by those who seek to atchieve its dissolution: and, on the other hand, the subjects must strive as much as possible to enlarge their liberties, lest they should be reduced into abject servitude, even by the best of governments. On both sides there may be a violation of the principles of patriotism and of delicate moral rectitude, which neither party can satisfactorily defend. But, the impartial spectator must acknowledge; that if prejudices, prepossessions, and self-interests operate on the one side; it is, in the general oeconomy of things, not unfortunate, that

they should be counteracted by similar interests and prejudices from the other side. If government did not maintain an extensive election-influence, by such means as it has in its hands; its dissolution would be quickly atchieved by the selfish and factious abuse of the election-influence of private persons. If, on the other hand, the elections were, universally, made without the interference of any spirit of opposition to the government; freedom of election would soon fall into desquietude; and the liberties of the constitution would be extinguished. All this, however, only illustrates that admirable order of Providence which, in moral and intellectual, as well in material nature, is constantly deducing good out of evil. It does not at all justify the votaries whether of government or of opposition, in acting upon other motives at elections, than those of the purest patriotism. Now I should not absolutely forbid the adventurer whom I have educated for making his fortune by politics, to accept the representation of a government

boroughs, if he cannot otherwise obtain a seat in the house. It is not however, in my judgment, the most eligible representation for such a person. I explain under another head, that it is better to make one's first efforts on the side of opposition.

Some of the places of which the elections are entirely in the power of government. are filled with inhabitants in the immediate employment of the government; and of course, therefore, unwilling to give offence and risk dismissal by thwarting its wishes. That such people should lose their elective franchises because the government happens to have employed them, were unreasonable. On the other hand, their votes cannot be given, in such a situation, duly unbiassed.

In other cases, peers or commoners with great election interest, resign the benefit of that interest to ministers upon certain conditions. It is scarce possible, that any arrangement of this nature should not be in contravention of the laws of patriotism and of rectitude. But, what have politicians to do with

a visionary morality, that cannot be
plified in the ordinary conduct of manl

A part, likewise, of the election inf
of government, consists in the assembl
the separate and private election inter
its different ministers. It is but reaso
that he who fills an high office, and en
large salary, should bring to governn
vote or two in parliament. The votes
are in this way ensured to government,
fairly: for, it cannot be dishonest or
in any man to give his voice, in the s
in favour of measures which he has, hi
upon mature deliberation, recommend
the cabinet. The union of those severa
cies of interest, it is that gives the g
ment that ascendancy in the legislature,
out which its necessary business cou
proceed.

Opposition Boroughs.

A part of the election interest of the country is, ever, necessarily in the hands of men whom the spirit of party, or perhaps worthier principles, move to employ it in opposition to the government. These are great peers and commoners, who aspire continually to thwart an administration in which they are not themselves the principals. Their election conduct is not more praise-worthy than that of the supporters of the government; neither is it more dishonorable and unpatriotic. A young adventurer in parliament who has not a close borough of his own, cannot do better than accept the representation of any opposition borough for which he can get brought in, free of trouble and expense. On this side, he will have opportunity to gain advantages of reputation, to affect an outrageous patriotism, and to act with a bold independence not so easily possible for him who begins his political career as a mere creature of the government.

Election Agents.

Among the many improvements in the arts which distinguish the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the present, is one that reduces borough-monging to a system, in which every thing desirable is atchieved, as it were, by a few regular operations of machinery. We have now, surveyors of boroughs, just as well as surveyors of lands and buildings: we have agents, who, with the address and the plain business management of any money-lender or auctioneer, are ready to find to venal electors the purchaser who will give the highest price, and to men of opulence desiring to become legislators, the prize they want, for the money they are willing to lavish.

One of these election agents shall, perhaps, be a man that has forfeited his pretensions to fair character by the most notorious acts of perjury and bad faith. He may have betrayed those whom he ensnared to the guilt

of bribery; and may have had even his true evidence against them slighted, on account of the general turpitude of his conduct. Let him be such a person as no man would yield himself to the contamination of associating with, but to employ him to the uses of his vocation.—Yet, let him, on the other hand, possess, or pretend to possess, some tolerable knowledge of the state of election influence at most of the boroughs in the kingdom. let him be known among the voters, as a man practised in all the foul arts of election intrigue; let him get recommended for skill in such arts, to those who are prompted to aspire to be legislators, more by the vanity of affluence than by conscious wisdom. He shall not, in this case, fail to be made much of on an election year; he shall negotiate not a little of election business; and he shall, at this time, perhaps pocket money enough for his subsistence in luxury till another seventh year's harvest returns. It will be the safer to use him, since he has previously forfeited all character to that degree, that,

if he should even, upon any misunderstanding, go to betray his principal, his testimony could not, in any court of law, obtain faith against you.

There is ANOTHER sort of election-undertaker, who executes things of this nature upon a scale still greater. He may be either banker or contractor, so he but possess the most prompt command of money to an immense amount. He anticipates the approach of the season of election, and by the aid of subordinate agents, and the lavish distribution of his money, holds himself in readiness to secure the election of any representative he pleases for any of the boroughs of which others were not irrevocably masters before he commenced his enterprise. He then, as it were, *opens shop* for the general accommodation of the opulent who wish to have seats in parliament. He is known, and is resorted to; he fails not to get at least *cent. per cent.* by the gigantic speculation, besides the credit of engrossing a prodigious election influence. Should his creatures even betray

him to the cognizance of parliament, and of the courts of justice, yet, having gained his object, he needs not distress himself in regard to any pnnishment which justice can now inflict upon him. A sentence expressed in language of severity—a few months of easy imprisonment—what harm can these do him? They do not take away his fortune; they do not exclude him out of the society in which he has hitherto lived, they serve, if any thing, to give new lustre to his character, by displaying the extent and the magnitude of his electioneering transactions.

There are, yet, other inferior agents, whose services are but temporary, and who work as occasional hacks for the dispatch of dirty jobs at elections. These are the persons to excite riots, to harangue in the midst of the mobs, to muster ballad-singers, to provide and disperse hand-bills, to hire fictitious voters, to embarrass the progress of the poll by the arts which they know how to practice when they are employed as inspec-

tors of it. But, in respect to these persons, I must refer you for information to the practice of electors in E——d, and to the works of Mr. W——m C——t. It is what I would not counsel our political adventurer to take any concern in; not on account of its turpitude, but because he is to reserve his talents, his efforts, his intrigues, for occasions of higher importance.

CHAPTER III.

TRIALS OF ELECTIONS BEFORE COMMITTEES.

The last toil is not over when a gentleman has been returned, and has taken his seat in the house. Petitions may be presented against the return; and the member must then await the decision of a committee. He cannot influence the ballot for the committee; but he may, otherwise, thwart the petition which comes to disturb him. He may feign occasions of delay, so as to tire out the patience of the petitioner, or to deprive him

of the attendance of his witnesses. Counsel skilful to perplex and embarrass evidence may be procured to cross-examine the petitioner's witnesses. The short-hand writers may be disturbed or corrupted. If the sittings of the committee be continued for any length of time, may not some of them be gained to view the sitting member's rights with the same favour with which he himself views them? There was a time, when it was not so much the legality of the return, as the presumed politics of the member petitioned against, that guided the decision for or against him. These times are past. It requires infinite address in a member that sits upon a bad return, to keep his seat, in spite of a well-grounded petition and a trial by a committee chosen by ballot: but may not the thing be atchieved by a man of true vigilance, insinuation, and delicate artifice? Let no man, having before him an object of such consequence as a seat in parliament and the discharge of the legislative functions, hesitate to put in practice the necessary arts.

Since his ultimate object is so great and good, it cannot be his duty to boggle about the means. Get into the *house*, fairly if you can; but, at all rates, get into the *house*: Once in the *house*, suffer neither Heaven nor Hell to exclude you from it!

On the other hand, the motives to petition against a return, are natural and strong. Is a candidate to give up his cause, even after the trouble and expense of an election, as long as he can indulge the smallest hope of prosecuting it to full success? Are voters to suffer the loss of their power and rights, by too tamely yielding to the ascendency of a rival party? Never. Petition, then, against any election of which the issue disappoints your hopes, if there be the smallest probability of your so petitioning with effect. Pursue your petition with spirit and address, to an ultimate trial of the merits of the election. Leave no act untried, no stone unturned, to gain the victory. I do not counsel you to do, as some are said to have done, and frame open conspiracies to be

too easily detected. But raise your outcry loud; muster an host of willing and forward witnesses; endeavour to outwit your opponent, as to the conveniences of time and attendance; scruple not at subornation, if it can be managed with utility and without danger of discovery; spread every report you can devise, to render your opponen's character and cause popularly odious; tamper with the C———e, if this may be done with any prospect of success; be shrewd and liberal in dealing with the short-hand writers; try to bring the whole public to espouse your cause, with an earnestness by which even P———t and its C———e may be overawed. Should you, in this ultimate stage, prevail, your triumph will be more glorious, than if you had, with ease, carried you election at the first.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST EXERTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

All preliminary difficulties are now surmounted; and my political disciple, with all the accomplishments I taught him to acquire, is, now, in the house.

It has been my advice to him, not to enter on the side of the administration, if he could possibly avoid it. I shall suppose him, then, to give the first specimen of his talents as a new auxiliary of opposition.

Opposition will not presume to lay those

restraints upon his forwardness and promptitude of speech, to which he would be obliged to submit on the other side. Let him own, then, no restraint; stand boldly forward on every occasion upon which ministry may be outrageously arraigned, or on which their measures and principles may be remarkably dissented from. The wishes of the people are ever the most in favour of him who flies fearlessly in the face of the power to which they are themselves under a necessity to be obedient: and it will, therefore, tend the most essentially to gain to our young politician, a popularity which may be afterwards a rich estate to him, if he shall, at his outset, profess himself the zealous advocate of the doctrines the most adverse to those of the members of the administration, and the most wildly romantic in favour of popular liberty.

Let him evince a determination to press into notice at all adventures. To speak, to speak promptly, to speak even with effrontery, are the grand objects he is to have in

view. If his speech be fluent, his manner unembarrassed, and his voice sonorous—this is enough. Is a proposition moved to harass ministers; let him be the first to support it. Do ministers ask the necessary supplies; let him question the truth of their statements; ridicule the unskilfulness of their ways and means? accuse their profusion and peculation; impeach their incapacity; refuse the supplies they ask; protest, that his country should be left to perish rather than be saved by the compliance with such men, and the adoption of such measures as theirs.

Do they communicate, by his majesty's command, new treaties with foreign powers? let not the young senator hesitate to arraign those treaties, as making a sacrifice of the wealth and honour of the empire, for no good end. This he may do, though not duly acquainted with the relations and the interests to which such treaties have respect: it is enough for him to arraign with spirit: —The public, the other members of the opposition, and even the ministers accused,

will soon find for him more of meaning, truth, and justice, than he thought of when he devised his charges.

He must not think of persuading the people to embrace any new notions of his own in politics. On the contrary, let him religiously espouse those political opinions to which the populace have been always the most zealously attached. The commonplaces of popular error should make ever the creed of him who aspires to rise as a politician, by the favour of the people. Let him not hesitate to adopt principles, and to urge them upon the reception of ministers, even the most incompatible with the existence of all good government. When he shall rise himself, at some future time, to be a minister, he may, *after the greatest examples*, condemn and abjure the most boldly those very popular opinions which he now proclaims with the most outrageous affectation of enthusiasm. He can never be a great politician who does not while out of office profess opinions the most expressly contradic-

tory of those upon which, when in office, he must, of necessity, act. There is no disgrace in tergiversation, which has been sanctioned by the practice of statesmen and orators the most illustrious. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

Let him distinguish himself by frequent motions for the production of papers. It is not necessary, that he should, in all cases, know what to do with the papers, if he obtain them. The demand will give an air of indefatigable attention to parliamentary business. Ministers will gain by him, sometimes the praise of frankness and candour for granting readily that which he demands, sometimes that of firmness for refusing such papers with invincible steadiness. The subject will give him many opportunities of harmless speechification. The clerks in the offices will feel grateful to him for giving them work to kill the spleen and *ennui* which might, otherwise, in a manner, *eat them up*. The printers will be doubly thankful for the good jobs he thus procures for them. The news-

paper-writers will exceedingly rejoice, that so many valuable materials are put in print in such a way that they may reprint them in piecemeal, to enrich their papers. In fact, the services are beyond calculation great, which may be derived from this spirit of continually calling for papers. Many a member, incapable of teazing ministers in any other way, has harassed them to death by alarms about papers which they could not divine what use he was to make of.

I would particularly recommend to the young adventurer, to dabble a little in matters of public expenditure and revenue, from the first hour of his entrance into the house. This is a subject on which even the dullest of men may shine, the very meanest rise to importance. Between a government and the representatives of the people, the money-concerns are ever those of the first consequence. The multiplicity and intricacy of the public accounts will easily afford, at all times, room for misapprehension and for cavil. Whether you mistake, or pretend to

mistake something in this or that accompt laid upon the table, or whether you actually detect some piguny error,—'tis quite the same. Exclaim against negligence, financial incapacity, and falsification. Boast the acuteness and care with which you have made the discovery. Argue from it, that no financial statement whatever from such ministers can deserve credit. Proceed even to deny the supplies they ask, on the ground of their inability to present correct estimates. Should it be yourself, not the ministerial accompt, that is in error; you may, however, by vehemence and pertinacity of affirmation, make the case appear to many, both within and out of the house, to be expressly the reverse. Detect but a real error of 19l. 10s. you shall perhaps overturn a government by the detection. Not to content yourself with now and then pointing out an error in a particular accompt, let me recommend to you, in order to get at the very height of financial reputation, that you take occasionally the general scheme of accompts for the year; calculate

its particulars with some variation of the data; leaving out at pleasure some items, adding others; then present this as a scheme of the debts and expenditure of the state in which the frauds and errors of that of ministers are most conspicuously exposed. This is the way to get reputation that shall, one day, raise you to the highest financial employment. *Sic itur ad astra.*

Suffer no occasion to escape upon which ministers may be accused of the foulest corruption, and the most profligate improvident waste of the public money. Accuse with the confidence of conviction from demonstrative evidence. Spread, in private, doubtful tales of guilt much deeper than that which you have in public imputed. Gain the populace, and the newspapers which are the most notorious channels of calumny, to repeat with tenfold exaggeration, all that you alledge. Overpower the simplicity of as many as possible of your weak but well-meaning brother members: win the profligate by shewing them the prospect of redeeming their own characters

in making themselves parties to the utter ruin of those of the men in official power: inveigle even the honest and sound-minded into the same snare, by teaching them to consider it as their duty to the people to be fiercely and implacably vindictive against every semblance of pecuniary malversation in public office: invite the ambition, avarice, and revenge of the very leaders of opposition, by presenting the prospect of an entire expulsion of their opponents from the strong holds of official power; then urge the representatives of the people into partial, hasty, ill-considered enquiry: and ere they shall have time for candid reflexion, urge them to a vote that shall begin the process against the objects of your accusation, by consigning them to punishment before trial! This is the very consummation of accusatory art and eloquence. There is no pitch of official greatness to which he who atchieves all this, shall not have a right to arrive. What although the law and its incorruptible interpreters should, afterwards, rescue the victims from

your gripe before you can pursue their condemnation and punishment to the last extremity; it is not to be doubted but you may have tortured them, before, to the most excruciating wretchedness.

I have already recommended to you to speak, at all adventures, with indefatigable pertinacity and unconquerable boldness. I now add, that you ought to speak more for the galleries than for the house. The reporters in their galleries are to be the trumpeters of your fame. Much of the public consequence you are to acquire as a debater in parliament must depend on the accounts they shall give of your harangues. Hollow out, then, your words with stunning loudness; give them swelling, pompous phrases; intermingle such puns and hacknied jokes as even they themselves might use; be not solicitous of connected unity in your orations; regard not grammatical exactness in the structure of your periods; do not even harass yourself to study any natural train and succession in your language and thoughts: let

only your stream of speechification flow turbid, impetuous, and sonorous: your reporters will then catch all of it that they are competent to convey to the public: let them but hear you—hear you to speak as much as possible in their own slang!

It is not necessary for your harangues to be always long. A sally of pointed flippancy will, at times, stand you more in stead than a speech of several hours length. But, long speeches must be made from time to time. It has been, these thirty years, the fashion in a certain country, to estimate the talents of an orator and statesman by the length of his harangues. He who can speak for five hours together, is, by two hours, a more eloquent, a greater man, than he whose longest speech has not exceeded three hours. A long speech reported, at length, in the newspapers, makes the public stand at gaze. Perhaps not one reads it carefully to an end. Those who read the most of it, attend only to its occasional flashes and witticisms; not expecting to find it every where equal, because

they do not suppose the reporter to have done any thing like justice to the sense and spirit of the speaker. Its parts, too, are given, in the report, huddled together in a confused mass, which the reader judges not easy to be avoided, and which, therefore, excuses to his mind whatever seems to detract from the worth of the original. Let, then, a speech be long, let it be bold, let it be vehement on the side of the darling prejudices and vulgar errors of the multitude; he who has spoken it will soon be famed throughout the empire, as the greatest of orators. The short, flippant speeches of a few minutes are generally those which do the greatest execution in the business of the house. The long-winded harangues prove of the greatest service out of doors. Nay, even within the house, and with members old or new, loquacious or speechless, a beginner must not hope to establish his reputation and authority completely till he shall have shewn, that he is qualified to surpass others in the talent of holding out in discourse. The good parlia-

mentary speaker is, like the able and skilful boxer, he who can stand the action for the greatest number of rounds. That characteristic praise which Goldsmith has, in ridicule, ascribed to his disputatious schoolmaster is the very praise to be, in many instances, the most ambitiously affected by our adventurer in political oratory.

"In arguing, too, the parson own'd his skill:
"For, e'en tho' vanquish'd, he could argue still;
"While words of learned length and thundering sound
"Amaz'd the gaping rustics gather'd round."

CHAPTER V.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

I SHOULD expect, that, after the peculiar advantages he has had, in his education, from infancy upwards, the young orator whom I strive to form, can be at no loss for words, nor should he be at a loss for matter, half nonsense with some glimmerings of sense. His studies of the MORNING POST and other daily newspapers, may have given him an ample supply of all that. These studies he must continue still: they are the only studies with which he shall need to trouble him-

self. He must read his own speeches, that he may have the pleasure to admire, how much wiser a man he is, than he could have supposed himself. He will, of course, read the speeches of others, in order to mark how very much they fall, in wit and eloquence, short of his own. He must still dwell upon the remarks and reflexions of the newspaper editors, as the very school of political wisdom. He must still drink up their puns, and points, and witticisms, with the most attentive eagerness. These are to be, by him, again produced, from time to time, as the flowers and the nose-jewels of his eloquence. In this study of the newspapers, he must be constant through life: but, it is almost the only toil in book-learning to which he is to be confined.

Learned quotations are so much affected in the eloquence of parliament, that our young adventurer cannot forego their use. But, let him beware of Greek quotations: these would make his brother-members prick up their ears, and stare somewhat too

wildly. Quotations from the wits and philosophers of France, are not just now high in vogue. The *Latin* is the favourite language for parliamentary quotations. It at once evinces learning and is not too remote from the familiar: Latin let him, then, quote in profusion. But, whence derive an adequate store of lines, sentences, and apophthegms? From the small remains of his school Latin—from those collection of lines and sentences, the common subterfuges of school-boys poaching for their themes—from even honest Lilly's rules and examples in grammar, if better aid may not be obtained. The parson who, for want of other Latin, retailed Lilly's rules in his sermons, soon won the esteem of an audience which, if he had not thought of this expedient, he must have entirely lost.—Let the orator beware of of quoting from the Latin, any of those distinct sentences which are pregnant with golden maxims of wisdom, and have been, therefore, quoted so often as to be in almost every scholar's memory, and to meet us in al-

most every book we open. He would give no proof of recondite learning who should quote in this fashion. No! let him give such fragments of lines and periods as were never before exhibited separately, and cannot by themselves be explained into clear sense. This will shew a deep acquaintance with the classics, infinitely above quoting their mere common-place beauties. It will seem as if his quotations came because he has more Latin than his head can hold. This expedient to gain a renown for deep classical erudition, has been employed with success, by so many parliamentary orators, that to adopt it, will be only following an approved and laudable precedent.

Minute attention to the forms of the house, is not essentially necessary. That petty care may well be left to the speaker, to the clerks, and to such old members whose minds are too puny and feeble to have been ever fit for any of the more exalted tasks of intellect. The most eminent orators will, without a blush, blunder the most egregiously, and

after very long parliamentary experience, in matters of form. Scorn, then, the solicitous study of the forms of the house, as other great orators have been accustomed to scorn it. The knowledge of them could never give any thing of dashing consequence and fame to your character.

In a house of parliament, as elsewhere, it may be much less difficult to speak with force and fluency, than to obtain a patient hearing. The senior speakers are not always pleased to see juniors start up to rival them in the claim upon the time and attention of the house. They are apt to deride the briskness of the young orator; they will turn his serious harangues to ridicule with a few smart words; and disappoint his attempts at wit, by wearing a cold serious face when he fancies that he is irresistibly to provoke all that hear him to split their sides with laughter. Although themselves in perpetual blunders respecting the forms of the house, they are malicious enough to watch and expose his blunders. When he is, at any time, in the

very best part of his happiest and most elaborate effort in eloquence; they will raise some signal-coughs which shall drown his voice by circulating quite round and through the house. At other times the cry of "hear "him! hear him!" shall be slyly raised by those good-natured friends, and prolonged and echoed by all their pack around them; so as to render it impossible that he should be heard, just at the critical moment when he desired it the most; or to make that to be heard with ridicule or indignation from which this young orator was expecting to gather the truest applause.

Now, against these arts of muzzling the mouth, my young orator will have, for a time, a difficult struggle. But, he must begin with ensuring attention by an affectation of timid modesty which is not, however, to put any restraint upon his real, heartfelt boldness. By his manner and attentions of civility, he may bespeak or seem to bespeak the favour of some of the old speechifiers, and of some of those fox-hunting country-

gentlemen who, though no orators themselves, admirably prompt or check the oratory of others, by the same notes which they are wont to address to their hounds in the chace. He must then, learn to use a language of ambiguity and cajole, which shall make the members on the two sides,—each anxious to know whether he is not about to declare for them,—and each willing to listen a little longer, with patience, in the hope to hear that approbation of itself which it the most anxiously desires. On some great occasion, when an attempt is made to cough or call him down, let him summon up all his firmness and effrontery; shew that he is not to be put to silence by any indirect disingenuous art; throw into his elocution a force of voice not to be drowned by the buzz around him; and, with an indignant manly air, profess himself resolved to have the full benefit of that liberty of speech which the orders and privileges of parliament ensure to all its members. That this, doughtiness may not render him odious, he will

do well to yield on other occasions, to the attempts to shorten his harangues. He will thus evince, that, when he yields, it is not out of feebleness or timidity; and that when he persists, it is not in obstinacy but in manly prudence. He must shew, too, he is not incapable himself of the arts of cheering other orators by an air of grave interested attention, of drowning their voices by buzzing cries, coughs, or langhter, of leaving the house, when those of whom he would mark contempt, rise to speak, or of demonstrating by his manners, that he thinks that which they advance to be very little worth listening to. By all these arts steadily practised, he will soon prevail against the first attempts to crush the unfledged orator in the shell. He will be the more successful, if he can meet some of the first endeavours to snub him, with the laughter moving application of some of those repartees with which he has stored his memory from Cobbet, the Morning Post, and Joe Miller.

There is, yet, another advice to be given

in regard to the delicate and important object of securing a fair and seasonable hearing. Do not chose those moments to address the house when the interest of the business languishes, and when many of the members are withdrawing, fatigued and impatient. Be careful to seize that moment to arise and utter any longue harrangue you shall have meditated, when the house is full, when the attention and curiosity of the members present are still fresh, when there is an expectation of an issue to the debate which forbids any member to leave the house, yet does not allow any one to call too importunately for the question, when there is a want of speakers, and on both sides an inclination to hear whether there be any individual present having any thing to say that can give a new turn to the character of the debate. These are the *Mulissimu tempora fandi*—the sole occasions upon which you may with prudence hazard any length of speechification. As for your short pointed hits of a minute or two; these, indeed, you may venture at any time. I

would, likewise, recommend to you to have a due regard to the convenience and good humour of the reporters. It is to you of the last importance that they report whatever you say, in the greatest prolixity, and in the genuine reporter manner. This, however, they never will do, unless you in the time and manner of your harranguing, yield a good deal to their personal convenience, and to the general convenience of the newspapers which they are to fill. When one rides an ass; one must yield not a little to the froward nature of the brute.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW TO ATTAIN TO THE CONSEQUENCE OF A LEADER IN THE HOUSE.

It is a consideration of great delicacy; whether the rising orator and statesman should throw himself, at once, into the arms of any one of the several subordinate parties in the house? or whether he should not rather stand aloof, and expect a small knot of adherents to gather round himself, such as he may enlarge till it shall involve the whole opposition?

Were I to give advice, the best that occurs to me, independent of examples; I should wish him, neither to stand too *whimsically* aloof, nor yet to enlist himself all at once among the mere *grex* following any party leader. He may join opposition, in their general aim, upon most great questions. But, let him support his views, if he can, by arguments peculiar to himself. Let him evince, that he votes with them, merely because they happen to be of his opinion. Let him shew that he is not to be entirely gained without considerable sacrifices and concessions on their part. Let him even make, as if he were not absolutely inaccessible to advances from the other side; though if he be wise, he will shun negotiation with ministry, till he shall have risen to higher personal importance. When, at length, the opposition leaders shall, with an air ask his sentiments upon any great measure in which they are about to engage their party; he may appear as if he were willing to unbosom himself to them, and to throw himself into

the arms of the party. But, even now, let him be upon his guard. Let him abandon himself to them—but seemingly—not absolutely and implicitly. Let him watch, whether they be disposed to treat him as a mere follower, or to grant him the consequence attached to the rank of a leader. If he deign to act in an inferior part; he will be condemned to it for life. Never will he be raised to the first rank by others, who does not boldly grasp at it for himself.—When he, again, shall have conceived any design of his own for a motion to harrass ministry, or mend the constitution and the government; let him communicate to the allies who have so begun to coquet with him. Do they encourage his design? Do they demonstrate great eagerness to co-operate in it? Do they betray no invidious disposition to snatch its merits out of his hands? Then he may first regard himself as beginning to be adopted for one of the leaders; and he may, with less and less hesitation, proceed to make common cause with them.

But, among other methods by which this consequence is to be obtained, there is that of insinuating one's self into the friendship of those who happen to be its present leaders. If they be men of minds open to conviviality, to praise, to friendly affection; the attempt to win them, may not be difficult. Get distinguished as the favourite companion of their easy hours. Entice them into an inclination to embrace you as the auxiliary of their public efforts. Profess yourself their humble disciple. Seem to take, like a cameleon, the colour of your mind always from theirs. Refuse not, for a time, to be their drudge in business, and the very Zany of their pleasures. It shall be surprising, if you do not thus quickly rise to divide his influence with any party-leader, however high, or even, perhaps, to swindle him out of it entirely.

Political Clubs.

You must, at the same time, take care to shew yourself to advantage, at the great po-

litical clubs of the party at the head of which you wish to place yourself. There have been times when some of these clubs claimed to be little less important than the whole legislature of their country. Court, then, admission into them. Be industrious to promote frequent and full meetings. Shew yourself bold to distinguish those meetings by violent party toasts. Harangue with spirit; and make yourself eminent in that knot of members who mutually compliment one another with the praise of being the flower, the pride of the statesmen and orators of the earth, men to whom it is inexpressibly unfortunate for their country, that all her grand public interests are not confided.—To be one of the chiefs of the w—g club, is the next step to being at the head of the parliamentary party out of which that club is formed.

Early education has given to my young orator, one other means of putting himself at the head of a party. He is a skilful GAMBLER. Let him, then, get introduced

into the gaming clubs at which his fellow members amuse themselves with deep play. He may be presumed to be, in this, more an adept than most of them. Without any air of avarice or art then, let him, by coolness, steadiness, and keen vigilance, win as much of their money as he can. Let him take it with seeming indifference; and scatter it about with profusion. Let him never be a rigorous creditor to those who owe him play-debts upon honour. Let him never so affront the losing party as to refuse continuing to play because they have no more money left in their pockets. Let him make as if he attended the clubs, and entered into play, merely because he likes the society of his gaming friends, and has himself an unlucky passion for play. Acting thus, he cannot fail to gain an ascendency over the minds of his gaming parliamentary friends, which shall serve him not more in play than in politics.

Should he, on the other hand, meet with gamesters more knowing than himself, and be quickly pigeoned of all he possesses; even

from this misluck he may derive new advantage toward his political success. The soldier who has lost his purse, is ever the most forward to mount a breach. There are great examples to evince, that the loss of a fortune at the gaming-table contributes to render a man desperately bold and pre-eminently clever in political oratory. If a losing gamester carry up his crest, make light of his misfortune, and bear himself as if he had lost, in a manner, nothing in comparison of what he is still confident to gain in a way much more honourable; he will command an admiration in his distress which shall compel most other minds to stoop in homage to his. Those who have triumphed over him in gaming, will be glad to follow him in politics; and he will have raised a company of political *Condottieri* at the expense of his whole fortune.

Besides, I have supposed him a leader among his companions at school and at the university. It is to be presumed, that he must now, again, meet with some of these

in parliament. They who were proud to follow him in frolics of boyish mischief, and in the first excesses of juvenile dissipation, may not have yet been able to shake their former reverence for his genius, nor their fondness for his society. All of these, then, whom new and indispensible interests do not engage against him, must become his followers. If there be yet others of his old school-fellows now on the political field, lads who were too serious, gentle, and bookish, to join him in his early pranks and mischiefs, these will, now, however, see that he is much more a man of business and of the world, than they themselves, with all the pains they have taken to become learned and good; they will unavoidably bow to his superior genius; and they will, almost insensibly, find themselves engaged to follow him in the general train of his politics, and in his parliamentary movements.

There is something, also, to be gained by the distinguished pursuit of all the gallantries of the age. My rising orator and statesman

ought to shew himself, if possible, the liveliest and best sustained character at a masquerade. He should get himself into request, as one whose presence is necessary to give spirit and fashion to every grand route. He is a skilful dancer; and he must take care to have the ladies ready to pull caps, to have him for a partner at every grand ball. He must visit Newmarket; and he may, once or twice, enter a horse to run, there or on some other race-ground, just to shew that he is not quite ignorant of the sport, nor, more than English gentlemen in general, averse from it. But, I cannot advise him to devote himself passionately to horse-racing, any more than to bull-baiting, cock-fighting, boxing, or walking matches.

CHAPTER VII.

CAREER IN OPPOSITION TILL THE STRONGHOLDS OF ADMINISTRATION ARE TAKEN BY STORM.

I MAY now suppose the rising Statesman to be very high in the ranks of opposition, and to have accustomed the house of legislature in which he has a seat, to listen with respect to his voice on all occasions on which he chooses to address them. What, then? Is he to abide for ever in opposition? Or, is he to desert to administration, as soon as he

can join them upon conditions of great personal advantage?

Abide for ever in opposition? No! No! And to be in too great haste to join administration, would be, to mar his coming grandeur.

The business, now, is, to lead opposition, campaign after campaign, session after session, into a warfare continually, more fierce, active, and vigorous, against the enemy. Spare no step of opposition that does not absolutely rush to civil war. Arm all the hacks of literature to raise a hue and cry, as if public opinion were entirely on your side. Become the patron of political reveries, subversive of all government; raise a cry for the death-blow given to our liberties, whenever a pickpocket is carried before a magistrate, or a reformer taken in acts openly treasonable, is sent to cool his head and his heels for a few days in confinement. Listen to every invidious tale against the conduct of any of the servants of government, in primacy or subordinate situations; and bring the matter,

by accusatory complaint, before the house. What though the tale should prove to have been groundless, and your taking of it up, should be branded as malicious? You and your adherents, will have had opportunity, when you moved upon it, to throw a deluge of invective, and of odious imputation, which the newspaper reporters will disseminate over the kingdom, and which will lend exceedingly to impair the credit of your adversaries. What has been once boldly affirmed in parliament, will never cease, upon any refutation, to be believed and maintained by a large portion of the multitude without. Scruple not even insolent thwarting against Majesty itself, if there be the slightest prospect, that, by such thwarting, you may add to the perplexities of the ministry, or augment your own popularity with the multitude. To traverse the measures of administration, you may even presume to send ambassadors for your party to foreign courts, patronize the wildest doctrines of reform and universal equality, espouse so far as, without express

treason you can, the very cause of those enemies with whom, as the adversaries of all order, and of the liberties of mankind, your nation is at war. Vilify the courage, the counsels, and the military conduct of your country's allies. Sing *Te Deum* over the successes of her foes. Dispatch emissaries into coffee-houses and other places of public resort, to arraign every act of administration, to extol the wisdom of every step taken by opposition, and to proclaim the country, spite of all favourable appearances, utterly undone. Refuse credit to any evidence of guilt against revolutionary traitors. On every suitable occasion, collect assemblies of the people, even *sub dio;* harangue them with violence upon the miscarriages and the delinquency of ministers; nay, let the scenes of some of your assemblies be chosen so near to the seat of parliament and the court, and to the principal offices of government, as absolutely to beard them to the teeth. Watch the moments of doubt and embarrassment to the ministers, your adversaries. These are the

moments for you to strike home. Ministers must, then, as unfortunate, be discordant among themselves. Their prince, moved by their ill fortune, will be staggered in his confidence in them. A change of men and measures must be resolved upon, with whatever reluctance. Perhaps, you shall receive a *carte blanche:* perhaps only a part of your underlings may be invited to compose a new administration in concurrence with a selection of underlings from the opposite side.

CHAPTER VIII.

TREATY FOR THE ASSUMPTION OF TH MINISTRY.

I HAVE, now, marked the career by w the hero trained to the enterprises of pa mentary and political ambition, is to as to the height of his wishes. He has infla the people with the spirit of turbulence discontent; shaken the pecuniary cred the government; alarmed public opi with the belief that the very constitution

ters on the brink of ruin; spread wide the imputation of corruption, incapacity, tyranny, and invincible ill luck against the ministers in office; undermined the reputation of his country for superiority in counsels, arts, and arms; attached to himself the great body of the falsely ambitious, whether within or without the house; sown jealousies between the sovereign and his ministers, as well as among the different branches of his sovereign's family; and persuaded even the world, that it is impossible for him to become minister of his country without dethroning the family of his king, and overthrowing entirely the very foundations of the state. He has done all this.—His sovereign may regard with abhorrence, his person, his principles, and his many attempts to vilify the majesty of the throne, and undermine its stability. But, a paramount necessity has been, at last, created. The former ministers can no longer discharge their functions with effect. They resign their appointments into their master's hands.

They counsel him to forego, for the moment, his not unjust prepossessions against the DEMAGOGUE; and invite him into official power. There is no other counsel to be given; no different scheme of conduct for the monarch to pursue. A negotiation with our hero, of course, opens.

Demand no humble conditions for yourself and your associates. You have much to give in return for what you demand. Since the affairs of government can never be conducted upon principles like yours; you have, in the first place, to bargain an implicit, open dereliction of those principles. The purchase is, to your prince, invaluable; for, if it be, on your part, faithfully made good, it extinguishes nascent rebellion and revolt: It leaves the rabble, whom you trained to discontent, without a leader. It wins those whom self-interest rendered enemies to the throne, without alienating such as have their hearts penetrated with a loyalty and a patriotism which no personal chagrins can impair. It, in some manner, turns

black into white, white into black: for, it makes those very things commendable in your professed estimation which were, before, the most odious to you. You, in the treaty, dispose of all your wild and dangerous popularity; for, you must not expect that you shall find it possible to serve at once the tumultuous populace and the throne. You must not suppose, that, in official power, you shall find it more eligible to betray the strength of the crown to the rabble, than to support that strength with fidelity. The power of the crown becomes, in your hands, your own power; and, you therefore, come to advance it with the same zeal, as if you never espoused any principles of jacobinism. The change of trade which you now make, too, is very considerable and very hazardous. The same artifices, the same manners will no longer serve your ends. You have to enter a new course of life, to expose yourself to odia of a new species. For all this, you must require so much the more weight

to be thrown into the scale which is to counterbalance that of your pretensions. You have now to gratify all such of your followers as shall still be able to make themselves of use to you. You have to satisfy some of those resentments which either the injustice or the just severely of your predecessors may have provoked. And, what is more than all, since you come into office, only when it is impossible longer to move the wheels of government without you; you have a right to demand any terms of your S———n that he can give without the absolute surrender of his private revenue and his ostensible power.

Make it your first care to insist on the right of dismissing every one that has been put into the enjoyment of office or emolument by the ministry whose fall you have atchieved. Make more, much more to do about this, than about the functions and obligations of your office. Your power will be illusive; if it enable you not to do as much mischief

as can, in reason, be done to those with whom you have been so long at parliamentary war; and, if it give you not, on the other hand, the most extensive means by which to gratify the claims of your own adherents.

Demand, then, in the next place, authority to dispose of all but some very few of of the leading ministerial appointments, without any interposition of your S———n's voice.

Require the right to confer new titles of all sorts, at your pleasure.

Insist, that the S———n quit himself of all such even of his immediately personal servants, and of those of his household, as you shall desire to be displaced in order to make room for others whom you may expect to be the most trusty to yourself.

If there be ever a man in your K—g's dominions that has made himself personally obnoxious to his S———n; espouse this man's

cause; demand of the M——h to forego all resentment against him; insist upon his being received into every appearance of the most gracious favour at court; and by a victory so decisive, over your S———n's inclinations where inclination is ever the most refractory, make sure, at the very beginning, of that ascendency by which you may afterwards compel your master to see with your eyes, and to assent implicitly to all the measures you shall propose to him.

Stipulate to the right to institute process, and to set on foot enquiries, for the purpose of calumniating and degrading your predecessors,—even in cases in which it shall be infallibly clear, that their conduct has been without stain, and superior to all accusation.

Stipulate, likewise, for the right implicitly to pursue those very measures which were adopted by your immediate predecessors in office; yet to pretend, in the

face of the world, that your's are measures widely different; and to continue to to arraign those which were pursued before, as measures the silliest and most pernicious.

CHAPTER IX.

THE POLITICAL ADVENTURER AT THE HEAD OF AN ADMINISTRATION.

THE orator and statesman whose fit education and political progress I have traced, is now, at the height of his ambition. Without fixing what particular office he may put himself at the head of; I shall, now, consider him in the character of a FIRST MINISTER.

He and his associates come into office, at a crisis of peculiar difficulty. Much is lost;

more is in imminent danger; if the nation conceive any hope upon the accession of these new men—it is derived from an opinion of their submissive indifference, as ready to make at once every sacrifice that the most ambitious enemy can require. Even in the treaty for the acceptance of official employment, time was lost which left the allies of the country in uncertainty and despair, and which thus gave to enemies cautious not to lose a single hour, the most extraordinary advantage.

Spite of all this; be it your first care to divide the *loaves and fishes*. Let state-affairs stand still till you shall have swept out of the offices of government, high and low, every individual whose person is obnoxious to any one of your gang, or whose salary any of your dependents wishes to enjoy.

Next, consider well, what proportion of your own adherents are to be immediately and fully gratified? Who of them are to be put off, for a time, with fair yet sincere promises? Who to be merely soothed with

soft words, and no more? Who to be scornfully driven off at once, by insolent neglect?

Gratify those only to the full, whose continued attachment is indispensably requisite to bolster up your power; and to whom you are under engagements which you dare not violate, for the particular gratifications you give them. With these, indeed, you may almost equal the boon companions of your our private pleasures,—the creatures of your mistresses and *their friends*,—with perhaps one or two who had no claim upon you, in order to get a reputation for candour and generosity.

All they whose aid, active, ardent aid, is to be the support of your administration, ought to be put off with little or nothing, for the present. Impatient hope is a much more faithful prompter than gratitude. Keep your most effective servants in hope; give them as little as possible more than hope to animate their services; beware, however, of bilking their hopes, so as to provoke indig-

nation, or to sadden to despondency: at some rare times, reward one or two to the utmost of their justifiable expectations: let the rest be, all, taught to expect each as much in his turn. This is the true secret, by which to be zealously, steadily, and alertly served.

Those others of the adherents of your former fortunes, whom you cannot promote without a loss of character to yourself not to be compensated by any service they can perform, must be put off with good words meaning nothing. Treat in the same manner, those whose power of service is, by years or the vicissitudes of life, entirely past. Deal so, also, with those whose vanity will induce them rather to content themselves with your empty civilities, than, by being offended that you do not more for them, to forego your notice entirely. In short, pass this coin on all who will take it without expecting to have it made good to them hereafter, in true and lawful money.

And who are to be scornfully driven off at once, by insolence and neglect?—All who come upon the pure and simple score of merit; all who come in the expectation, that you are, now, to fulfil your opposition promises, and to follow out the measures which you declared, when in opposition, to be alone reasonable and constitutional; all those men of probity and literature who, in the ingenuous faith that you want the aid of unconnected virtue and talents, are weak enough to profess an inclination to enlighten and support your efforts; all those who, though in employment under your predecessors, held their employments with party spirit, or party efforts, and have, in consequence, the presumption to think, that they may be permitted to hold them still.

Blacken the last Administration: declare your Country irrecoverably ruined.

THE weak, having gained such an object, as is now in your grasp, would assume an affectation of candour, and entirely refrain from further abuse of rivals whom they have supplanted. It is not, however, for you to act so silly a part. Pursue the blow you have struck. Disarm your political opponents for ever, since, now, you have them down.

Renew that abuse of the folly of their measures which was, while you were in opposition, your favourite theme. Boast loud of the discoveries you have made, of the folly and wittol-ignorance of their schemes, of their perfidy to their allies, of their utter incapacity and negligence in all great affairs—menace impeachment and the block. Proclaim to all the winds of heaven, that your country is, by their guilt and mismanage-

ment, undone beyond the power of man to retrieve its fate.

It is not enough to make these complaints and accusations heard in the houses of parliament. Get some wretched hireling to make them the burden of a pamphlet. Let him be pert enough to believe himself capable of whatever is cogent in reasoning, and persuasive in eloquence. Let him be so entirely destitute of the feelings of genius, as to have not the slightest predilection for truth compared with falsehood. Let him possess nothing of that rectitude of reason which sometimes renders a vigorous understanding scarce capable to be betrayed by the depravity of a bad heart. Let him have attained no just knowledge of what constitutes the vital power and prosperity of nations, of the policy of measures, of the relations of amity or hositility, of the plans of war, of the possibilites of allied combination, of the interests of trade, of the utilities of labour, of the energies of inventive thought, of the unconquerable greatness of true public

and private virtue. To the self-conceit of an English son of the dunghill, let him add the pert loquacity of a member of a Scottish university disputing club, and the venality of a briefless Barrister. Let his brains have been impregnated with the tincture of jacobinism just requisite to give him a pleasure in tearing up anew the wounds of his country, in fomenting her dissatisfactions, in exaggerating her shame. This is your fit instrument. Set him to write you, an "ENQUIRY *into the* STATE *of the* NATION;" such as shall shew, that there remains nothing but to give *carte blanche* to its most dangerous and ambitious enemy. Let the counsels, courage, and enterprises of your allies be vilified in it to the utmost. Let the triumphs, talents, and resources of the enemy be extolled to the skies. Let the pamphlet be written in that mixture of Scoticism, Gallicism, newspaper slang, and colloquial barbarism, in that medley of the bombast with the pert and the low familiar, in that cloudy confusion of thought veiled in a corresponding confusion

of words, that jumble of mixed metaphors with fantastic sentiments; above all, that conceitedness of wrong decision, and that labour of quibbles, which distinguish both your own orations, and that newspaper literature which has been your grand school of eloquence. The pamphlet is written to expose the nakedness of the land; and that let it expose in all respects. Then send it, on the wings of the post-office bags, all abroad. Let it pass, as a peace-offering, into the hands of your principal enemy; let it go to your allies, as no unambiguous denunciation of what they may expect from you: let it go to the whole world, as a proof, that you despair of your country's safety, and are in haste to make an eternal sacrifice of her independence.—All the blame is laid, you know, on the inability and unfaithfulness of your predecessors: and the more their acts are vilified, so much the more will all that you shall do, gain in the comparison with them.

Pay your Court to the Enemy, before you even make your Compliments, as the new Minister, to your Country's Allies.

You have told in parliament that your country is undone; you have invoked all the eloquence of Grub-street to repeat and propagate the tale; you have dispersed your manifesto wherever your country's name is known; next renew the interrupted correspondence of your government with foreign courts.

Others might naturally enough, if new in a situation like yours, address themselves, in the first instance, to those foreign powers whom they found in alliance with their government; but such must not be your conduct. You despise those who were fruitlessly cherished as allies by your predecessors. You are ready to sacrifice them all in order to redeem the friendship of the terrible enemy who prevails over you and them alike. Invent some pretence of apparent generosity

for opening or renewing a correspondence with the intriguer who, being deep in every bad artifice, and polluted with every species of guilt, has thus attained to be his minister. Let your pretence be false; and let it be offered with that sneaking officiousness which may best betray you to shame, as anxious to offer sacrifices and concessions, concerning which, however, you tremble lest they should not be accepted. Mark the reception of this homage; though proud and disdainful, yet if it do not absolutely fordid you to lick the dust at the feet of the tyrant, to whom you would submit yourself and your country,—*rejoice.*

Chuse for the details of your negotiation, some poor being who has languished for years in the tyrant's chains, and who would sell his very birth-right, his very manhood, to get out of them. Being a slave, is he not so much the fitter to be your representative?

Must he have a coadjutor? Select for the task one who has, long since, transferred as

much as he could of his family property to the land of the tyrant's power; who has been labouring all his life to shew, that even a peer may dive deep in the bathos, and get distinction in the commonwealth of Grub-street; whose principles in politics, so far as he has had any, have been ever notoriously adverse to those of the constitution over whose government you preside; who is not more distinguished by domestic virtues, nor more familiar with unambitious, pure, domestic joy, than the wretches among whom you send him; who is so little loved and honoured at home, that a Bonoparte or a Talleyrand might p—ss upon him almost without giving offence to his fellow countrymen; and who is so impatiently, so ludicrously ambitious of public employment, that he would almost take JACK KETCH's place, sooner than rest longer in the shade.

Such a *par nobile* may well do homage in your name at the foot of the great enemy's throne. Let them tell him, how much you admire his glory; how desirous you are to

repose your whole confidence in his hor
and truth. Let them humbly watch
favourable moments when he and his m
ters will deign to hear or answer even
few words, with the common courtesie
social and diplomatic intercourse. Let t
give him to know, that your whole mac
of state stands still, till he shall have said
word; that you, in deference to him, leav
your allies in suspense, as to your farther in
tions respecting them, and altogether at
mercy of his menaces, usurpations, and i
gues. Ask of him, in the first instance, no
nite engagement, no written stipulation, n
sis for a treaty but such, as from which he
afterward shift his ground at pleasure. L
him to proclaim to all the world, that he
almost concluded a separate peace with y
that the late offensive and defensive alli
your country, have nothing farther to ex
from your aid; that you yourself person
have consented to be, for your partic
country, his *Prince of Peace*. He will, t
of course, be able to overawe your allies

the most abject submission, or to lure them into terms of treaty, equal to an unconditional surrender of their independence. Nay, even suffer yourself to be ensnared by it to the declaration of war against the neutral power, which it is the most important for you, to draw into your closest alliance,—for him, to divide from your interests. What less can you expect, in return, for all this, than that he should, in the end, grant you, conditions such as should, at once, establish your personal fortunes, and satisfy your country that you made no misrepresentation in alledging, that its independence was utterly undone, and that it lay prostrate at his mercy? This may be what you incline to expect. But to grant it, cannot be his interest. You have given him more by consenting to treat, though you knew him faithless and prevaricating, than if you had fought and triumphed for him in an hundred battles. He needs not, then, buy your services, or the submission of your country by equitable conditions. You have taught him to believe, that the more he

asks so much the more will you concede, the more he threatens, so much the more will you shrink and fawn, the more he prevaricates so much the more will you take him respectfully at his word. He is not deceived in you: but you dare not go to the utmost length of your own wishes. Your *novitas regni talia cogit*, that your Plenipo's must return *re infecta*. He is astonished and angry. But, you can boast that you have made every sacrifice for peace, but that of your country's honour. And, you may complain that the faithlessness of the allies, and their jealousy, to anticipate you in the advantages of a separate treaty with the common enemy, have alone hindered you from obtaining of that enemy, whatever could be, in reason, desired.

You may possibly express surprise, that I should have recommended a fruitless attempt to treat of peace, as an eligible measure in the beginning of your ministry. But, it is within my knowledge, that such measures have had effects the most favourable to the power of their sapient authors.

Public Abjuration of former Principles.

At home, in the mean time, you may be seasonably employed in giving a parliamentary and ministerial recantation of your opposition principles. You called for a *reform in parliament.* Now, declare that this is not the season for such an attempt. You demanded the *abolition of the Christian religion.* Now, answer, "*this is not the time.*"* You exclaimed against the guilt of screening great public delinquents. Now screen those, and only those, who can reward the protection by bringing an accession of strength to the support of your party.—You deprecated, perhaps, as pernicious, some great measure employed to consolidate the several parts of the empire more entirely into one. You taught your admirers to expect, that, should

* The fatal consequences of a dereliction in this instance alone has been fully proved by subsequent events.

the day of your power ever arrive, you would undo the Union. Now, however, be you sure to extol every thing about the union, but that you had not yourself the making of it. You have, before, possibly expressed loud and anxious sympathy with sufferings inflicted by the hand of government, on jacobins and on some of the rabble agitators of democratical reform. They were taught to expect that you would never accept official power or emolument to yourself, without stipulating to them compensation for their wrongs. But, the thing is impossible: tell them so: spurn them from you even more indignantly than did any of your predecessors.—You often vowed, never to have official co-operation with any of those who were, whether primarily or in a subordinate degree, co-adjutors in the measures of the former administration. But, now, select even from among them, if you can, as many recreants of the second or even the first order, as shall be willing, for a mess of pottage, to devote themselves to your interests and wishes. Be

sure, if possible, to find out, among them, some *Medecin malgré lui*, whom you may stick up in some niche, of mere and vain, yet ostensible formality. Find some other heavy-headed wight who, without a single talent but for endless sputtering *blatteration*—the very ox in the fable that would enact the race-horse—the very owl that would insist upon singing, with added beauty, the song of the nightingale—shall deem himself competent to fill the station of the greatest contemporary he has survived,—and shall be, at the same time, servilely forward to submit his mind and all its determinations to yours. Your old friends may exclaim loudly against these new connexions, as fatally unworthy of you. But, let them know, that you act for the public good only, and disdain their censure. By such measures as these, you will have fairly past the Rubicon. You can be, no longer, the idol of the revolutionary patriots. You have become so much the more obnoxious to your democratical friends, because they once put entire confidence in you.

Your S———n may, after this, trust his affairs in your hands with just the same ease of mind, as if you had never fraternized with a jacobin in your life. The only danger is, lest the fury of your old associates, on account of your desertion, should render them now more vigorous and active in opposition, than ever they were before.

Œconomical Enquiry and Reform.

In the mean time steadily pursue the aim of vilifying the administration of your predecessors, and of throwing, comparatively, an extraordinary glitter of wisdom and virtue over your own.

In collecting and distributing an anuual expenditure of from twenty to perhaps fifty millions; a prodigious number of persons must be employed; great diversities of talents, integrity and assiduity, must, of necessity, be trusted; many irregularities of levy, of bargain, and of payment, are unavoidably incurred; multifarious accompts

must be kept either with a perplexing variety of manner and arrangement, or with an uniformity that is not convenient in all cases alike; methods once established, shall be adhered to, after the fitnesses have ceased to exist, by which they were, at the first, recommended; and after changes and reforms have become palpably requisite, these cannot be introduced without great pains and very mature deliberation. It belongs to financial affairs, as being human things, the acts and arrangements of imperfect men, to lie under these difficulties. No ministry, of whatever government, and however able, can rise wholly above them. Yet the public at large who descend not into the details of these matters, naturally accuse the guilt and inability of the ministers, rather than the complex state of the business. And if any ministers have been long in office; the charges of financial corruption and incapacity may be easily rendered exceedingly plausible against them. The people understand charges which turn upon the waste or ex-

penditure of pounds, shillings and pence, much more clearly than almost any others you can offer to their apprehension. No eloquence will inflame them so much, as if you shew, or pretend to shew, by a plain mercantile accompt, that this or that man has defrauded his country of a certain sum. Nothing will, in general, render you so much a favourite with them, as to make them believe, that you are to introduce extraordinary economy and parsimony into the whole system of national expense.

Now, mark and apply these truths. It is impossible that you should be at a loss for matter of financial accusation against your predecessors. With a little latitude of misrepresentation, you may assume the appearance of having the clearest documents upon which to convict them of all that is mean and odious. Do not spare the misrepresentation. Institute board after board, of enquiry. Fill them with creatures of your own, such as are the most inclined to act, as malicious busy-bodies. By assigning ade-

quate salaries to the members of your boards, augment, in a manner the least invidious, the strength of your pensioned myrmidons around you. Set them to enquire into accompts not yet finally discharged, as if the delay were owing, not to the necessity of affairs, but to nefarious embezzlement. Teach them to magnify casual errors of a few shillings or pounds, into frauds of hundreds of thousands. Attest them to propagate those *ambiguas voces* which have the true power to infuriate the suspicions of the vulgar. Though not one act of real embezzlement nor of wicked delay be found out; yet hesitate not to affirm boldly, that frauds to the value of hundreds of millions appear to have disgraced the administration of your immediate predecessors. Prolong the existence of your inquisitorial committees; and persuade the world, if possible, that there are still more and more *speciosa miracula* to be produced.

Beside blasting the charater of those who have gone before you, in the same functions,

you acquire, now, to yourself, a power to do as you please, without censure. It can never afterward be supposed, that you who were so zealous to have the whole Augœan stable flooded, swept, and garnished, can become, in your own administration, the author of any thing but œconomy, rigorous fidelity, and the most lucid order in accompts. You may, now, with impunity, add sinecure to sinecure, deal out old offices to persons attached to you who are incompetent to discharge their duties, appropriate as much as possible to the convenience of yourself and your friends, the whole expenditure of the state; still you shall retain the credit for disinterestedness and purity, since it was your early care when you became a minister, to display so signal an abhorrence of whatever could be made to appear to be in hostility, to those qualities.

Foreign Affairs resumed.

You have left the foreign allies of your government time to determine whether they will still, by your aid, endeavour to support their independence, or will not rather resign their fate at once to the good pleasure of the common foe.

You chose, after coming into office, to communicate with that foe, before you would renew the arrangements for continued friendly intercourse with the former allies of your country. The enemy has disappointed you. The allies, though they may deem your assistance useful, must deeply regret, that they should have been left, so many months, without your confidential correspondence.

Begin, then, with issuiug such another Grub-street manifesto against them as you before put out against your own country. Pretend that they had abandoned you. Alledge that they were incredibly wavering in

their counsels, and were hastening who to be the first to conclude an insidious, separate peace, with the common enemy. Upbraid them, as unable, however willing, to make any farther effective resistance to his arms. Boast of the spirit and political wisdom with which you almost took arms on that enemy's side, against that one of your natural allies, whose force was the most unbroken, and whom the enemy was, then, the most ambitious to destroy. Boast, that the enemy had invited you to treat by the offer of the fairest imaginable basis of preliminaries; but beware of pretending it to be in your power, to exhibit any satisfactory written document to that effect. Tell, that you had intended to invite all the surrounding governments and states to be parties and guarantees to your treaty. Insist, that you should, infallibly, have muzzled the great bear. Invent long tales of fluctuations of policy at the courts of the principal allies; though you have not, since your accession to ministerial power, had any such correspondence at those courts

as conld acquaint you with their secret counsels and intrigues. Heap every obloquy even upon those allies, whose aid you must not ultimately forego. Then renew your assertions, that, had it not been for them, the enemy would not have failed to negotiate upon conditions which would have given an honourable and lasting peace. In the end, as if the enemy had not been tricking and perfidious, had not always opened negotiation merely to get more by it, than he could acquire by the fate of battle; complain, with bitterness, of his receding from his first preliminaries, and of the disingenuousness with which he detained and amused your wittol Plenipo's, while he was only making their presence at his court, a reason why some of the other allies should anticipate them with the most abject voluntary concessions. Let this pamphlet of manifesto be written, like your former, in a slang of Scottish, French, and English. Let it be a mass of confusion and repetition. Let it renew the abuse of your predecessors in office; and under atrocious

calumnies against those and the allies, let it hide, if possible, the disgrace of your dishonourable negotiation. Let it speak in that tone of pride and self-complacency which is used in the fable when a *ball of horse's dung* is made to say to an apple, "*see, brother, how we apples swim.*" Then send it out into the world, not verbally confessing it to be official, yet conspicuously giving it a distinction, which, if not official, it, certainly could not receive. Be sure, that you distribute its copies, in great numbers, in foreign countries; and that you support its visionary statements in your speeches in parliament. The dunce or dunces that executed the mechanical toil of it, may come, in time, to be subalterns in your parliamentary guard.

Renew your Diplomatic Representation and Correspondence at the Courts of the Allies.

You have interrupted that diplomatic intercourse which was between your prede-

cessors and the allies abroad. You have disgusted those allies by evincing a disposition to prefer the alliance of the enemy to theirs. You have irritated them by giving to that enemy, a great temporary advantage in treaty and in hostile arrangements, against them. You have gratified the party at home who are averse from the expense of foreign connexions by the most outrageous calumnies against the ability and fidelity of all who lately fought in alliance with you. You have left your diplomatic ministers, for some months without new credit or instructions at the allied courts. You have convinced those courts; that they are not to trust to any thing which passed between them and the previous administration of your government; but must absolutely begin a-new, and come upon an entire private understanding with you and your agents, before you will be persuaded to join them in any new plans of hostility.

Now, then, renew your attention to them. Let the former Ambassadors and Envoys have

returned from their respective courts. Send, instead of those, men of your own party, and in whom you can confide. Let them not be such enthusiasts to promote the downfall of the common enemy, as to be ready to enter into new engagements with the allies, by which the government you preside over shall stipulate to sacrifice any one separate interest of its own to the general welfare. Let them be, those who can view the ruin of the allied cause, without calling on you and their country to uphold it by extraordinary subsidies. Instruct them not to make offers: warn them to be shy of listening to any: give them, as the principle of their conduct, to look solely to the objects of keeping well with the allies, without exasperating the resentments of that foe, and of sharing, if possible, with him, in the distribution of the spoils which are snatched from their perishing imbecility. What aid you grant; that give with a niggard hand, and not at the seasons when, alone, it can be greatly useful. It is not necessary, that your diplomatic

agents should be persons of high talents or large experience. It is enough, that they be new men, attached to yourself, and as much disposed not to cross your instructions, as was Charles the twelfth of Sweden's jack-boot, not to govern his senate upon any fancies or suggestions of his own.

Parliamentary Campaign.

Now, return to your parliamentary campaign.—You have so vehemently condemned all that was done by your predecessors, that none will now suspect you of any disposition to steal from them. You may, therefore, steal from them without fear or danger of detection. It is in the province of the REVENUE, your grand difficulties occur. Try, then, whether any *ways and means* may be found which can be made productive, and which no former ministers have, in any degree, anticipated.—You scratch your head.—You dive deep into the vacuum of your brain.—You muse, and muse: but it will not do.—All the geniuses

about you are set to work: but all in vain.—What remains to be done? Search the repositories, of office-papers.—Here are abundance of schemes of resource—only rejected or deferred!—Seize them—use them.—None in the world will suspect you to have drawn them from the *frugi provisam in annum* of your predecessors, whom you have, with so much pride, condemned.—What if, in your hands, those plans of your predecessors cannot be rendered accessible? Maintain them with obstinacy, at least to a certain length.—But, if the nation, if the men of the greatest weight in parliament, shall, after all, be still more obstinate against your schemes, than you dare be in their support—then drop them in a manner as ungracious as possible. The ungraciousness of your manner will enhance the value of the sacrifice, by shewing how very dearly you valued that which you relinguish.—In the immediate exigency which this dissappointment creates;—recur at once, to such of the taxations of your predecessors as can be,

with the smallest trouble to you, inflamed. Be sure, in enforcing those, to make your *tittle finger* more afflictively heavy than your predecessor's *loins:* He, it may be, financially chastised the people with whips:—don't you fail, then, to chastise them with *scorpions*. In this way, you may contrive to *keep moving*, for one year, at least.

Grand original Scheme of Finance.

There is nothing about which the world is more in mistake than in regard to the faculty and art of INVENTION. It is generally explained to be the power or the act of producing something which did not exist before, and that in a place which was, before, entirely empty of every thing. But, how should this be? Nothing can be truer, in logic or natural philosophy, than the well-known maxim, *ex nihilo nihil fit:* nothing more indisputable than that you cannot put your *pig* under *Nancy's pot*, if you possess no *pig* at all: *invention* is, therefore, only to

and victorious foe; you *must* find the supplies; the taxes you dare not augment. Shall you resign? *Cuncta prius tentanda.* Gratify the monied interest by a return to the spirit of your predecessor's financial policy: and when this is discovered, public credit will revive. Insead of imposing new taxes; divert some of those which he had imposed, from their original and proper uses. Those which were to be levied but for a time, you may render perpetual. The trick will not be sensibly felt at the first: it imposes no *new* burthen. Again, if your predecessor had a noble engine at work that was in time, necessarily to remove and annihilate the whole weight of debt and taxations.—Seize you this engine; apply it to your own uses; leave old burthens to rowel upon the people's shoulders—how they may. Your business is, simply not to impose new burthens. The more intolerable, the more odious, you render the old; so much the more advantage do you gain over your predecessor's fame. Having atchieved all this; you may

boldly assert your claim to the PALM of FINANCIAL INVENTION; and may boast your own for the greatest name, that ever sustained and renovated the pecuniary resources of a sinking state!

How to treat the Military and Naval Commanders who were employed under your Predecessors.

Entering upon office, you cannot but find difficulty in dealing with those military and naval commanders who were the most favoured before. They have owed their preferment to your rivals: and therefore, you cannot wholly trust them. But, on the other hand, their services have given an interest with the nation so great, as, now, almost to deny you the power of dismissing them.

In this case, I would recommend to take into your secret confidential counsel, one or two old officers of the highest rank and of veteran experience; men of service and of merit, themselves; but yet more distin-

guished for selfish irritability of feelings, for implacable resentment of whatever they can construe into offence, and for unappeasable brutal jealousy of all whose professional services have eclipsed, or threaten to eclipse, the splendour of their own.---To these men, unbosom yourself,---let them know, that presumption, however sustained by talents and services like those of the persons obnoxious, *must*, of necessity be checked.---Listen to their replies. They tell you the merits, the services of those *soi-disant* heroes are nothing; that none of them are more than a more flash-in-the-pan. They instruct you to affront, to dismiss them, to bring them to trial. They promise for themselves to bear all the odium. To you, they ensure the comfort---the pride---the felicity of being again free to employ such commanders alone, as you delight to honour.

As to the enterprizes undertaken toward the close of the ministry of your predecessors; it can never be for your interest to approve them. They are the last acts of a bad

system. You were not consulted in the planning of them. Had you made peace with the enemy at the moment you wished; even the conquests of such enterprizes must have been given up without equivalent. Do they succeed? You get no praise for their success. Are they frustrated? The disappointment dispirits the people even towards your administration. Beware of taking measures to follow out any such enterprizes. Do not hastily believe any rumours of their having succeeded. Shew yourself more eager to credit the news of their failure, and by propagating it officially, to check that foolish sanguine temper of the people ever unreasonably flattering them with vain dreams of prosperity. However successful the commanders in such expeditions,—be you sure to deny them the gratification of "The Senate's thanks, the Gazette's pompous tale."

If they fail—and have acted upon any too bold interpretation of their powers—bring them to the block if you can.

Sly return to former Principles.

You have sacrificed your republican principles, connexions, and fame, tothe sweets of office. You did well. But, perhaps your sacrifice was intended only for an ostensible one ; and you remain, though now the secret, yet as much as ever the firm and zealous votary of your old opinions. In this case, you will not slight my advice---how best to promote them.

Though you do not expressly countenance jacobinical speeches and assemblings of the multitude ; cannot you loosen those restraints, and relax that vigilance, by which government, before, kept them down ? Let the publication of books and pamphlets with jacobin principles, be more and more encouraged ! Let the schools for mob-disputation on politics, be opened anew ! Let the jacobin outcries even against your own tergiversation be heard with feigned terror ! Let the jacobin outrages

at elections meet no vigorous censure nor punishment!

Let the old honest, simpleton advocate of constitutional reform; who fancies that the constitution might be, with advantage, restored to what it was in the times of king Alfred, or of William the third,—our arts, manners, general policy, and exterior relations remaining as they are at present; let that man be indirectly encouraged to stir up a new bustle among all the weak and pragmatical, though well-meaning men of his own political humour.

Let the publication of calumniating, confused, falsified histories of the country, Such as B————'s be encouraged! a book, unmatched in glazing misrepresentation of the truth, in confused misapprehension of the series of events, in poverty of all those principles of science to which history must owe its best illumination, in meanness and grammatical incorrectness of language, in democratical rant and malignity!

And if there be such a disposition of things, that the constitution may be changed, under a pretence of bestowing new immunities to persons under certain religious disabilities; then use this pretence. Your S———n feels himself perhaps under engagements to God and his subjects at large which forbid him to consent to the direct removal of those disabilities? Persuade him to elude his obligations, and to allow the thing to be done indirectly. Is his reason too sound, his conscience too pure and delicate to be so misled? Insist upon your demands. Does he still refuse? Resign, Resign, Resign!

END.

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